



FIG. 56. The ruins of the Church of St. John in Ephesus and in the background the hill of Ayasoluk with the Byzantine citadel.

## CHAPTER 14

### THE TWO MODELS OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE CITY

*One can say of cities, 'Tell me how their space is distributed and I will tell you who governs or owns them.'<sup>2477</sup>*

By the end of the sixth century, two models of city had developed in the Byzantine empire. One was formed in the course of the early Byzantine period through a process of the evolution of the ancient city within the new socio-economic and political circumstances and a new cultural environment. The other model constituted a new form of city, created on the initiative of the state or of local communities in response to the invasions. The form of both, however, crystallized over the sixth century. The first model belonged to the past, although it continued to evolve in the early Byzantine period, albeit profoundly transformed, reaching the seventh century as a relic of antiquity still surviving in the early Middle Ages. It was shaped by demographic, socio-economic and cultural dynamics, which altered the cities' ancient physical appearance. The forces informing the new model of the city were different and primarily military and Christian, which led to an emphasis on fortifications, naturally defensible locations and churches, and thus to an urban legacy quite different from that bequeathed by the earlier model.<sup>2478</sup>

#### The twilight of the ancient city

Earlier, in particular in Parts III and IV of this book, we described in detail the transformation of ancient civic space from the fourth century onwards and its final form at the end of the early Byzantine period. Civic centres had ceased to be used as administrative and social centres for urban communities. The commercial centre of major cities had long been dissociated from the administrative centre and transferred to other parts of the city. In early Byzantine cities, markets were located along the streets, a Hellenistic and Roman urban arrangement, and a Roman type of market, the *macellum*, continued to function. At the same time, new markets developed around churches. The concentration of pagan monuments, heroa and temples were tied to the cities' ancient tradition and pagan religion, and the decline in autonomous civic administration made the forum/agora obsolete. Buildings serving the administration were abandoned or were taken over by powerful individuals or persons of the lower classes, being sold or leased for other uses. They were subdivided and used for industrial and artisan activities.

<sup>2477</sup> L. Martines, *Power and Imagination. City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York 1979), 241.  
<sup>2478</sup> See recently Zanetti, *The Urban Ideal*.



ticularly since the establishment of industries producing smoke and odour in city centres and in residential quarters has been considered as evidence for the degradation of urban life. Such installations, however, were occasionally found in earlier cities. Inside Hellenistic cities, for example, dye industries could be found.<sup>2487</sup> In Tyre the odours produced by the purple workshops made residence in the city extremely unpleasant (δυσωδύρωτον).<sup>2488</sup> In contrast, in Antioch, the fullers' district was on the other side of the river, in the suburbs, to keep away the odours produced by the industry from residential areas.<sup>2489</sup>

According to Roman law, however, such industries had to be established outside of the urban centres and at a certain distance from the houses. Nevertheless, the indications are that laws protecting city inhabitants from the effects of industry were no longer adhered to. Julian of Ascalon indicates that in his time these regulations were not absolutely obeyed. The old installations are not to be expelled, and the law is to apply only to the new ones. In the literary sources and the archaeological record, glass workshops, foundries and smiths are attested in residential areas.<sup>2490</sup> Pottery and tile production constitute a different case, however, in that the nature of the industry demanded that kilns be established where clay was available on the site, but outside cities. Julian of Ascalon in *caput* 3 mentions the existence of pottery ovens only in villages. Many settlements with pottery ovens producing the famous Gaza amphorae are found between Gaza and Ascalon north of the city and in the surrounding area. In Eleuthera in Crete the potters' quarter is located a few km outside the city, where the odours produced would have been blown away by winds from the sea. About thirty pottery workshops were located near Alexandria, many of which are found along the shore of Lake Mareotis.<sup>2491</sup> In Delphi in the late fourth century potters were established in the area of the gymnasium, where they could use water from the Castalia spring. Their location on the periphery of the settlement conforms to the rules of ancient urbanism.<sup>2492</sup> A striking parallel is afforded by the agora of Thessalonica, where kilns were built as early as the fifth century, when the site lost its civic functions, to extract the fine quality clay.<sup>2493</sup> Because of the nature of this industry, traditionally appropriate for suburbs and rural areas, pottery kilns found inside urban space in the early Byzantine period gave cities an air of rusticity. Potters established in urban sites continue to remain at the bottom of the social scale, as they did in the village and urban suburbs.<sup>2494</sup> Likewise, kilns for brick production were usually, but not always, located outside communities. Now, however, they appear in central urban space.<sup>2495</sup> When the invasions strike, ovens for cooking and for

<sup>2487</sup> L. C. Bowkett, *The Hellenistic Dye-works. Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969*, Fasc. 36 (Oxford 1995), P. Faklaris and V. Stamatopoulou, Βεργίνα. Ανασκαφή ακρόπολης 1997. Υφαντουργεία και βαφεία, *AEMT* 11 (1997), 121-125.

<sup>2488</sup> Strabo XVI.2.23.

<sup>2489</sup> D. Feissel, Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche astreints au creusement d'un canal (73-74 après J.-C.), *Syria* 62 (1985), 77-103.

<sup>2490</sup> Saliva, *Les Jods*, 268-270; Julian of Ascalon, 94-98, 130-131 and n. 365.

<sup>2491</sup> L. E. Stager, Ashkelon: Wine Emporium of the Holy Land, *AJA* 97 (1993), 334; Y. Israel, Survey of Pottery Workshops, Nahal Lakhish-Nahal Besor, *ESI* 13 (1993), 106-107; Ph. Gouin and Ch. Vogt, Quarrymen and Potters in Ancient Eleuthera, in P. G. Themelis (ed.), *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεῦθερα, Ι/2* (Rethymno 2000), 2002-2003; J.-Y. Empereur and M. Picon, Les ateliers d'amphores du Lac Mariout, in J.-Y. Empereur, (ed.), *Commerce et artisanat dans l'Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine. Actes du Colloque d'Athènes organisé par le CNRS, le Laboratoire de céramologie de Lyon et l'École française d'Athènes, 11-12 décembre 1998* (BCH suppl. 33, 1998), 75-91.

<sup>2492</sup> P. Pétridis, Les ateliers de potiers à Delphes à l'époque paléochrétienne, *Topoi* 8/2 (1998), 703-710.

<sup>2493</sup> See supra, p. 243.

<sup>2494</sup> P. Mayerson, The Economic Status of Potters in P. Oxy. L 3595-3597 & XVI 1911, 1913, *BASP* 37 (2000), 97-100.

<sup>2495</sup> For example, in Athens the area of Plateia Kotzia was no longer used after the Herulian attack as a cemetery. Instead, a large brick complex was established on the site: O. Zachariadou and D. Kyriakou, *AD* 43 (1988), Chr. B1, 27-28. For evidence of brick production within the urban space see K. Theodoridou, Συμβολή στη μελέτη της παραγωγής οικοδομικών κεραμικών προϊόντων στα βυζαντινά και μεταβυζαντινά χρόνια, *DChAE* 13 (1985-86), 97-111; *Corinth* XI, 7-25.

the production of lime appear everywhere in abandoned ancient monumental complexes and entire cities. They give the ancient urban centres a tone of desolation and are testimony of small rural communities surviving among the ruins of a bygone age.<sup>2496</sup>

The complex aspects of civilized life in early Byzantine cities were slowly disintegrating and this trend is manifested in the decline of the ancient monumentality of the cities. The decay of aqueducts, and consequently the reduction in the supply of running water, is another sign of the decline of urban communities. When restoration work was undertaken, it was of poor quality. By the end of the early Byzantine period, most of the aqueducts had been neglected, and, as with other urban structures, when damaged by earthquakes, were not restored. City dwellers increasingly relied on wells, which also offered them a stable supply of water when under siege by enemies.

Churches became part of the urban landscape first on the cities' periphery, and later in ancient civic centres. They were established on vacant lots and on the site of various buildings. Upon the abandonment of the ancient agora as centre of administrative and social life, churches became the new urban foci. The new administrative centre was transferred to the governors' palace in the provincial capitals, or to ecclesiastical buildings. Communities now organized their life around churches, both in topographical and socio-economic terms. New neighbourhoods developed around churches, and were often located away from the ancient civic centres. Churches absorbed the declining resources of urban residents. When catastrophes struck and repairs were needed, the interest and funds of the communities were directed toward restoring churches, while other urban buildings were neglected. Once the churches had become the new centres of religious and social life, markets developed around them to serve the worshippers or were organized by the Church. Agricultural installations, in the form of olive presses and oil presses, located in urban space appear to have been connected with churches and monasteries. At an early stage, even before the invasions, there is evidence suggesting that such agricultural installations point to an organization of the production by the Church. The Church was becoming a major economic power in the cities and one of the factors that brought agricultural installations in the urban fabric. The process of the introduction of burials in the cities appears to have been similar: after the martyrs' tombs, the burials of bishops and of leading community figures were placed in churches, and cemeteries appeared around them.<sup>2497</sup>

From the middle, and especially in the last quarter of the sixth century, signs of stagnation and then of recession are obvious everywhere. The interest in maintaining the public secular urban space disappears, intrusion of crude structures into vacant urban buildings, porticoes and streets intensifies, new construction is limited to churches and fortifications alone, while the quality of repairs in terms of work and materials dramatically deteriorates. Moreover, with only a few exceptions, the size of new churches is very much reduced. This trend, which continues into the following centuries, and characterizes the cross-in-square type of church, has been regarded primarily as evidence of economic crisis and of the reduction in the size of settlements. Indeed, archaeological excavations show that, in the later part of the sixth and in the seventh centuries, when urban communities were struck by disaster such as earthquakes or enemy invasions, early Byzantine basilicas were either abandoned or restored on a much smaller scale. In the Byzantine Dark Ages the reduction in the size of churches is also very probably related to the reduction in the size of settlements and to population decline. Changing attitudes to places of worship and the more intensely felt need for privacy during prayer and the liturgy also played a role

<sup>2496</sup> G. Argoud, Fours à pain et fours à chaux byzantins de Salamine, in *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie. États des recherches. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, no. 578, Lyon 15-17 mars 1979 (Paris 1980), 329-339.

<sup>2497</sup> Restoration of churches after catastrophes: supra, pp. 243, 250, 251, 281, 284, 291, 385 ff.



An obvious element that marks the early Byzantine urban environment is the deterioration of building techniques and materials used for construction. Neatly cut and perfectly fitting ashlar construction was abandoned. Examples of such works were admired by the cultured, as representing the lost standards of the past.<sup>200</sup> Instead, layers of bricks were increasingly used to alternate with layers of stones.<sup>201</sup> The increasing use of brick in place of stone is usually interpreted, probably rightly, in economic and practical terms. It was becoming more difficult to produce ashlars for construction, and brick also offered more stability and strength in earthquakes. In describing the total destruction of the city of Cos caused by an earthquake, Agathias remarked that, while all the buildings collapsed, only those built in the rural style with unbaked bricks and mud remained standing:

Practically the whole city [Cos] was reduced to a gigantic heap of rubble, littered with stones and fragments of broken pillars and beams, and the air was murky with thick clouds of dust, so that one could barely surmise the existence of what had once been streets from a few vague hints of their presence. A mere handful of houses stood intact and they were not the ones that had been built with stones and mortar or some such seemingly more solid and durable substance, but only those made in peasant style out of unbaked bricks or mud (μόνα δὲ τὰ ἐκ πλίνθου ἀπέβησαν καὶ πηλὸς ἀδοκούμενος πεποιημένοι).<sup>280</sup>

The mortar courses gradually increased in thickness, and were strengthened with the addition of crushed brick, tile and pottery.<sup>202</sup> The addition of broken tile and pottery to mortar increased the hydraulic properties of the lime and added strength to the structures.<sup>203</sup> From the middle of the fifth century the numbers of buildings executed in mortared brick began to decline, whilst in new construction the thickness of courses of mortar gradually increased. Stone rubble with bricks or reused tiles, with or without mortar, became widely used, in a fashion reminiscent of rural building techniques. The stones were usually left unworked and many spolia were incorporated in the walls. This habit seems to have been caused by a crisis in the production of bricks and mortar.<sup>204</sup> Such construction is typical in all areas of the empire.

<sup>100</sup> W. A. R. Bowden, *Town and Country in Late-Antique Epire-Venetia* (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of East Anglia 2000), I, 204–208; also *Epire-Venetia*, 268–270.

Unbaked bricks interspersed with layers of wooden beams at various levels to strengthen the walls were also widely used and are mentioned in the written sources.<sup>286</sup> For cities in some provinces in the Balkans, it has been suggested that pre-Hellenistic construction techniques returned; although some of these techniques were used in Greco-Roman times, particularly in rural areas. The existing walls belonging to 'poor early Byzantine structures' may have been only the lower part of walls supporting superstructures in pie consisting of a wooden frame and filled with mud and straw. The upper parts of these walls, if such existed, have disappeared, because *pisé* perishes easily.<sup>287</sup> Walls in *pisé* were widely used by the Romans, which strengthens the possibility that the Byzantines used them as well, and they are known from archaeological evidence from different sites of the Roman period and from the literary sources. Those found in buildings on Carthage's Circular Harbour contained clay, sand and pig-sheers, and date to the first and second century A.D. Construction in *pisé* was more economical, since the clay required was provided on the site and *pisé* is easy to construct. Of course, the appearance of *pisé* lacks the prestigious impression made by other Roman building techniques.<sup>288</sup> What is notable about the early Byzantine period is that such walls became widespread in new structures inside ancient public buildings and rich houses, on sidewalks and streets, while ancient formal construction techniques were abandoned.

In the passage on the destruction of the city of *Cris* by earthquake cited above, Agathias considers the houses of *Cris* built in unbaked brick or mud to be of rural type. Dry bricks or mud were the building materials of the countryside in all provinces of the empire, except those where stone was available *in situ*. In Egypt, for example, dry bricks or mud, continued to be used throughout the Roman period, while the Romans introduced baked bricks and mortar in the cities.<sup>288</sup> Widespread rural construction techniques in the early Byzantine cities, together with the abandonment of the principles of the Greco-Roman urbanism in the articulation of the city planning and public monumentality, are mutual proof of a severe degradation of urban space, and have been rightly interpreted as a return to local rural traditions or a consequence of the invasions. The proliferation of indigenous rural construction techniques and architecture in the West during the period of invasions from the third century on is traditionally interpreted as evidence of 'deromanization'.<sup>289</sup> This type of construction, suggesting poor economic conditions, shows that the urban communities were breaking yet another tie with the urban building tradition of the Greco-Roman world. Such urban planning and architecture and such techniques and materials as are archaeologically visible to us no longer expressed the style and economic level of the Greco-Roman aristocracy and state. In the cases where the last stage of the cities can be traced in the archaeological record, it is to be observed that the buildings of the period of the invasions were constructed in mud, some incorporating broken bricks and tiles, or were wooden huts. Considered as being erected by invaders they reveal a rural, uncivilized life style. For example, in *Salsis*, after the city's destruction by the Huns in the middle of the fifth century, the poor houses that appeared on the site

209 J.-M. Carrié, *Antiquité tardive et "démocratisation de la culture"*: un paradigme à géométrie variable, *esclaves* (2011), 42.



employed rural techniques, some being simply huts. Their walls were constructed of stones bonded with mud, and the upper part of unbaked brick. The low cultural level of the inhabitants can be seen in the fact that they did not clean away accumulated rubbish from their workshops and kitchens.<sup>2510</sup> In Sirmium, such structures were introduced from the fifth century, when the city was lost to the Gepids and Ostrogoths.<sup>2511</sup> In Nicopolis ad Istrum, the houses of the *foederati* outside the walls, to the south of the city, were not built in the traditional Roman way with a substructure of stones and mortar supporting a superstructure in pisé. Instead, the lower part of the walls was constructed in rough stones bonded with earth, and the upper part in mud brick. Curiously, although the construction techniques of the *foederati* were not influenced by Roman tradition, and the pottery types also change with the appearance of the so-called *foederati* pottery of black wares, the metalwork used was Roman/Byzantine,<sup>2512</sup> which suggests various levels of interaction between invaders and Byzantines. Finally, in some towns in the northern Balkans the appearance of small crude structures indicates a Byzantine military presence, whilst in Italy Ennodius confirms the construction of poor huts by soldiers in abandoned large rich houses.<sup>2513</sup>

In the later part of the sixth century, urban space disintegrated rapidly. There are signs showing that the earlier clear distinction between city and countryside was becoming more blurred both at the level of topography and at the level of life style in the cities. Agricultural installations and isolated burials, one of the striking characteristics of the end of the early Byzantine period, are found dispersed in urban public areas and residential districts. Ovens, mills, oil and wine presses appear everywhere in the cities, in empty urban lots, abandoned public and private buildings, porticoes and streets. They are a prelude to the mediaeval Byzantine city, in striking contrast to its Roman predecessor. At the end of the early Byzantine period, when the cities suffered profound disintegration during and after the period of invasions, sections of the urban space were transformed into agricultural land for market gardening.

At this point, some clarifications must be made regarding the differences between urban communities and rural ones at the level of economy and topography. Ancient and mediaeval cities depended on their rural territory for subsistence, and in socio-economic terms the relation and interaction between city and countryside was direct. Thus, for example, in all cities, a large section of the urban population owned fields in the countryside and was engaged in agriculture.<sup>2514</sup> Historiographical sources contain accounts of urban inhabitants going out of their city to the countryside for agricultural work.<sup>2515</sup> The income of the city dwellers derived either solely from agriculture or from a combination of agriculture and trade or labour. Calculations employing data from cities in the Middle East have led to the conclusion that only about 25% of the residents of Neapolis (today Nablus in Palestine) were not engaged in agriculture, and that most of the city's dwellers possessed agricultural plots. The figures for revenue deriving from agriculture for other cities vary: from 80% (Scythopolis) to 50% (Diocæsarea).<sup>2516</sup> The

<sup>2510</sup> See *supra*, p. 24. Also for Apamea, see Fox, *Syria*, 225. Similar observations were made for the level of civilization of the new inhabitants of barbarian origin in rich houses in Italy, who threw their garbage into the empty rooms of the houses: A. M. Snell and R. J. Buck, *The excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti* (Torreano 1994), 4-5.

<sup>2511</sup> See *supra*, pp. 291, 304-305.

<sup>2512</sup> *Pauline, One City's Contribution*, 203-213.

<sup>2513</sup> Curta, *Peasants*, 200-201, 203, and *supra*, p. 173 n. 905.

<sup>2514</sup> Pallagiano, *Pauvre*, 266; Claude, *State*, 179-180.

<sup>2515</sup> Joshua the Stylite, c. 52 (p. 41); *Moscula S. Demetrii* I, 137.12-13. It was very common for city dwellers to work in their fields outside the walls, and so Mango's conclusion in *Byzantium*, 71, on the basis of this text that 'the inhabitants [of Thessalonica] were reduced to a semi-rural existence', would not appear well founded.

<sup>2516</sup> *Safrai, Economy*, 373-376.

land register from Aphrodito in the nome of Antaeopolis in Egypt dated to ca. 525/6 shows that 79% of the landowners were citizens of a city or state officers.<sup>2517</sup> The complexity of the urban economy contrasts with the lack of diversity in the rural economy. Of course, artisan production is attested in villages, but shops are not recorded there. The variety of artisan production in the cities is also evident in the number of different types of urban crafts attested in Egypt.<sup>2518</sup>

Although agriculture was an essential component of the urban economy, and a large part of the urban population was directly or indirectly involved in it, very few agricultural installations are attested inside ancient Greco-Roman cities. Procopius mentions mills established from ancient times on the Janiculum hill, by the bank of Tiber and inside the Aurelian wall of Rome.<sup>2519</sup> Stables and storage rooms for agricultural produce were obviously quite common in the cities, and mills for grinding wheat are very often found in urban houses to support the household economy, but not for a large-scale production. However, installations for agricultural production were usually located outside the limits of ancient cities, in the suburbs. Oil presses are rarely attested in Egyptian cities, where the papyrological documentation offers secure information by contrast to the uncertainty of dating using archaeological material.<sup>2520</sup> A lengthy topographical description of a district of Panopolis in Egypt, dated to the fourth century, contains a list of houses on the same street, workshops, and nine temples. The workshops for various specializations include two olive presses and a mill,<sup>2521</sup> while only one house is identified as a rural house.<sup>2522</sup> In general, the Greco-Roman city was distinguished from the village not only through its buildings serving urban administrative and social life, but also with the almost complete absence of agricultural installations, traditionally reserved for villages and small towns. For example, in the irregularly planned small town of Horbat Castra in Israel, just 1.5 km from the sea, fourteen wine presses and twelve oil presses have been found on the periphery of the town or scattered through the inhabited area (Plan 59).<sup>2523</sup> Furthermore, agricultural installations are more likely to be found within the limits of cities without a strong tradition of Greco-Roman urbanism. Thus, for example, the large Roman mansion on the acropolis of Diocæsarea (Sepphoris), built in the second to the early third century and probably owned by a rabbi, included shops, workshops and an olive press.<sup>2524</sup> On the other hand, the principles of Roman urbanism spread through in new towns, even in peripheral provinces of the empire that developed through Roman initiative. In Horbat Kasif in southern Israel, which developed from a Roman road station into a large early Byzantine town, farmyards and agricultural areas appear only on the edges of the inhabited area.<sup>2525</sup>

The archaeological record has revealed plenty of evidence of ruralization of cities during towards the end of the early Byzantine period and to the seventh century. Again, the crucial question is that of

<sup>2517</sup> J. Gasco and L. MacCoull, *Le cadastre d'Aphrodite*, TM 10 (1987), 105-158; R. S. Bagin, *Landholding in Late Roman Egypt: The Distribution of Wealth*, JRS 82 (1992), 136-137.

<sup>2518</sup> R. Alston, *Trade and the City in Roman Egypt*, in H. Parkins and C. Smith (eds.), *Trade, Transport and the Ancient City* (London 1998), 168-202, esp. 183-184 (90 different types of urban crafts mentioned, the 26% of the male population of Oxyrhynchus registered tradesmen); Bagin, *Egypt*, 86 (calculations based on evidence from papyrological texts lead to the conclusion that 15-20% of the heads of households were engaged in industrial production in Egypt's late antique cities).

<sup>2519</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* V.19.8-9.

<sup>2520</sup> P. Adam-Veleni, *Περὶ τῆς Φαλαγγῆς: Ἀσκήσις ἐργασίας ἀγρονομίας*, AEMT 10 A (1996), 7 and n. 42; Bagin, *Egypt*, 79 and n. 205.

<sup>2521</sup> Z. Berkowski, *Une description topographique des installations à Panopolis* (Warsaw 1975), 48-15, 52-16, 67-4 (olive press).

<sup>2522</sup> *ibid.*

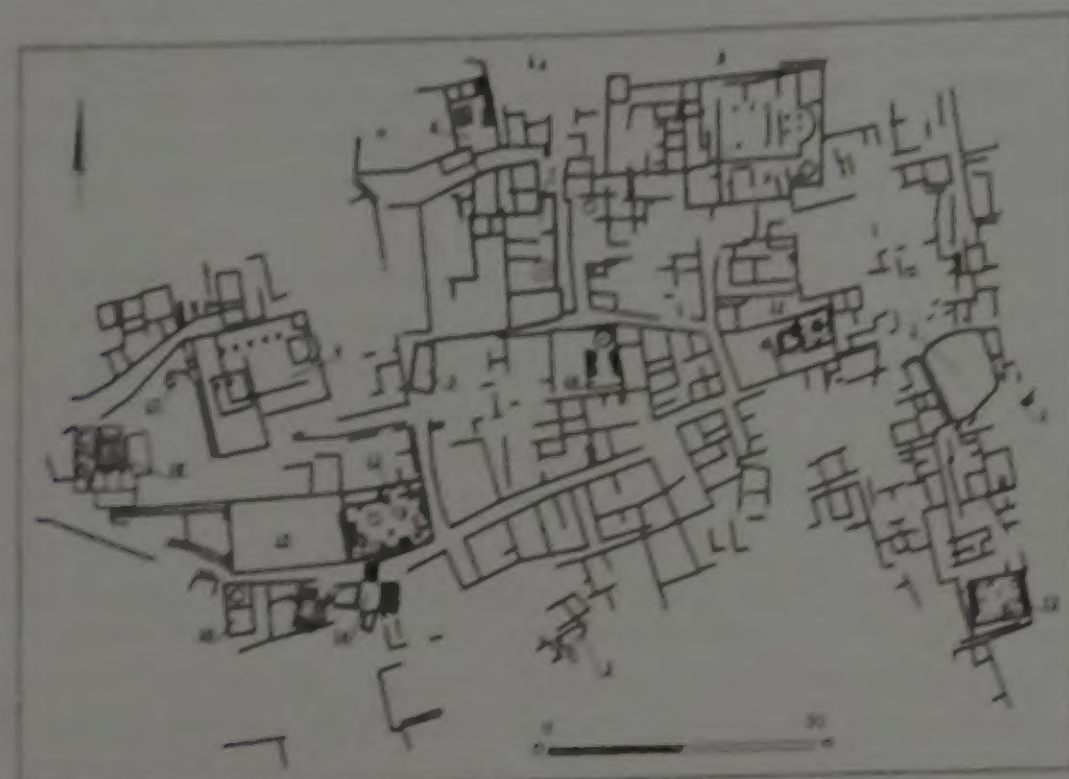
<sup>2523</sup> *ibid.*, 56-16. Also [sic] by Bagin, *Egypt*, 86.

<sup>2524</sup> Z. Yeivin and G. Finkelstein, *Horbat Castra - 1983-1987*, ESI 106 (1989), 23-27.

<sup>2525</sup> Weiss and Netzer, *Sepphoris*, 122, 126.

<sup>2526</sup> Y. Israel and Y. Schuster, *Horbat Kasif*, ESI 111 (2000), 90-93.





PLAN 59. The town of Horbat Castra, with oil and wine presses.

chronology. Archaeologists usually date agricultural installations from the period of the invasions, when the ancient structure of most cities disintegrated. Indeed, very few rural installations in cities can be dated with certainty to the sixth century before the invasions. In Messene in the Peloponnese, a monumental fountain between the theatre and the north portico of the agora, with a pool 40 m long and an *exedra* adorned with bronze statues, was severely damaged by an earthquake in 360-370. The eastern part that remained standing was used as a water mill in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>224</sup> Again and again we observe that it is after major catastrophes, during which the ancient buildings were destroyed, that the new articulation of urban space can be discerned in the archaeological record. Indeed, we have already stated that after earthquakes, the previous structure and assigned function of urban space is not sustained. Thus, for example, the west side of Hanghaus 2 at Ephesus collapsed in an earthquake between 612-616, and a series of mills appeared on the site, using the power of the water flowing down the hill.<sup>225</sup> Although the installation of agricultural structures on the site of agoral/fora and streets gives a dramatic air to urban decline and disintegration, the agora, of course, had long ceased to function as urban centre. In Athens, a flourmill with a water wheel is located in the southeast corner of the agora, dating to ca. 450-580 and finally destroyed by fire. Thompson and Wycherley concluded: "Whether these modest establishments served the needs of the Gymnasium or of the townspeople, their very existence in this place strikes a rustic note in startling contrast with the sophisticated atmosphere of the ancient Agora".<sup>226</sup> Olive presses are also found in or near the Palace of the Giants and the Metroon. In the Palace an olive press was used for private production before the late sixth century, but the Palace may

<sup>224</sup> Themelis, *Messene*, 27-28, 35.

<sup>225</sup> H. Vetter, *Ephesos. Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1983*, *Arch. Anz.* 121 (1984), 224. The issue of the date of the House of the Slope on the Embolus is not settled; H. Thier, in *Rund. New Research*, 144 and n. 91.

<sup>226</sup> H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. XIV: The Agora of Athens. The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Centre* (Princeton 1972), 214.

perhaps have been transformed into a monastery. At the end of the sixth century or more probably in the seventh, the olive presses of the Palace and of the Metroon were reused (Figure 57).<sup>228</sup> In Delos, a



FIG. 57. Ancient Agora of Athens. Central Mill; mill room, third quarter of the fifth century

wine press was established in one of the city's most important *temenoi* of the district of the theatre. Bearing a Christian inscription, it dates to the fifth to sixth century.<sup>229</sup> In Argos, agricultural installations multiply from the middle of the sixth century.<sup>230</sup>

We have already looked at the role of the Church in establishing installations for agricultural production in urban space by incorporating them in monastic complexes or attaching them to churches.<sup>231</sup> Towards the end of the early Byzantine period and in the period of transition to the Middle Ages, the Church took over the organization of substantial sectors of the urban economy. At the same time, at the level of ideology and urban culture, the Church took up position against traditional urban values and detached itself from the ancient urban tradition, centred on institutions such as the agoraites and the public spectacles. The Church played a major role in "declassifying" urban life. In combination with the decline of the urban upper class in the sixth century, the Church also reinforced the trend of the period towards the vulgarization of culture by socially and spiritually promoting and validating the lower

<sup>228</sup> Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 121-122.

<sup>229</sup> Ph. Bruneau and Ph. Frantz, *Un puits à vin à Delos*, *BCH* 105 (1981), 127-133, idem, *Provision déliens*, *BCH* 108 (1984), 713-730.

<sup>230</sup> Abadie-Reynal, *Argos*, 408.

<sup>231</sup> See *supra*, pp. 424-425.



classes.<sup>2530</sup> The assertion of the status of the lower classes had historical and social implications at the level of urban life: in the loss of the quality of the urban architecture and organization of life, in the regression of the established urban order and values, and in a blurring of the traditional differences between city and village.<sup>2531</sup> Clearly, the Church had a share in the early stage of the ruralization of cities.

The decline of the urban upper class, as manifested in the disintegration of aristocratic houses,<sup>2532</sup> was another major factor in this process of ruralization. It was the upper class that for centuries had preserved ancient urban culture, with its adherence to the Greek *paideia*, its economic strength and refined way of life, all of which created a sharp contrast between urban and rural life. By the sixth century, all this had changed. The substantial signs of a progressive decline in long distance trade and large-scale artisan and agricultural production have been stated in the beginning of this book.<sup>2533</sup> This economic regression obviously had a major impact on the urban upper class, whereby the old élites were transformed culturally and economically. The cities' *proteuontes* no longer aspired to maintain their ancient urban culture and life style and to identify themselves with the old model of urban aristocrat. Most of them were still living in old aristocratic houses of the peristyle type. These houses, however, had been radically transformed, with most of the open areas now closed and subdivided, some rooms subdivided and given to the lower classes to reside in or to use as workshops. In the sixth century their economic situation was not as prosperous as that of the urban wealthy of the fourth century. Life in the cities was changing culturally and economically.

To reach a better understanding of how the fortunes of the urban upper class affected the articulation of urban space and contributed to the ruralization of the city, we need to stress a few points regarding their position *vis-à-vis* the countryside in the early Byzantine period. Up until the end of the early Byzantine period and afterwards, the wealthy members of the urban communities, who were also owners of large estates, usually dwelt in the cities. In Antioch, the bouleutai remained in the city as long as they were involved in the civic administration and only upon their retirement from public life did they withdraw to their estates.<sup>2537</sup> Furthermore, those who attempted to escape their curial obligations moved to their estates,<sup>2538</sup> and in areas less urbanized, such as Cappadocia, decurions were ready to retreat to their fortified villas, if they were pressured by the governor.<sup>2539</sup> However, the attachment of the members of the upper class to the city is shown in the words of Theodoret of Cyrus: someone who retires to his estate (*ἀγρός*) lacks love for or hates the city (*ἀρῶν ἢ μισῶσιν*).<sup>2540</sup> The typology of rural houses in most areas indicates that in heavily urbanized areas of the empire rich landlords dwelt in the cities.<sup>2541</sup> Papyri also show beyond any doubt that in Egypt in the sixth and in the seventh centuries the

<sup>2530</sup> See mainly the theories of S. Mazzarino as analysed in A. Marone (ed.), *Rivoluzione e l'Italia* (Naples 1999), 117-129, or those of R. MacMullen, in the collective volume *Changes in the Roman Empire* (Princeton 1990), 250-276 (The historical role of the masses in Late Antiquity), 117-129 (Disruption of the mind), 142-153 (What difference did Christianity make?); J.-M. Salierno, *Aspects aristocratiques et aspects populaires de l'église chrétienne aux III<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, *AntTard* 9 (2001), 165-178, esp. 171-174.

<sup>2531</sup> Wilentz, *Urban Economies*, esp. 39-41, with emphasis on the role of the Church.

<sup>2532</sup> See supra, pp. 160-173.

<sup>2533</sup> See supra, pp. 43-44.

<sup>2534</sup> Petit, *Libanios*, 334-335: one does not find any trace of a rural atmosphere in Antioch's upper class in the fourth century ('aucune trace d'esprit rural'). Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 42 and n. 2.

<sup>2535</sup> *CPA* 18.1-2 (a. 367, 396).

<sup>2536</sup> St. Basil, *Ep.* 88, PG 32, 469B: *ἐν ἀγρῷ γὰρ ἔστιν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ οὐδὲν ἀλλοτρίον ἀγροῦ.*

<sup>2537</sup> Theodoret of Cyrus, *Ep.* xxvii, p. 99.23.

<sup>2538</sup> J.-P. Sodini and G. Tate, *Maisons d'époque romaine et byzantine (II<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles) du Massif Calcaire de Syrie du Nord. Étude typologique*, in *Apamée* (1985), 377-446; J. Ch. Bailly, *Notes sur l'habitat romain, byzantin et arabe d'Apamée. Rapport de synthèse*, *Ibid.*, 492-497; Tate, *Campagnes*, 257-267.

landlords continued to live in cities.<sup>2542</sup> In all the provinces of the empire the sources speak of *katoures*, that is, landowners, dwelling in the cities. In contrast with the West, where, with the collapse of Roman rule, the great landlords withdrew to their villas around which settlements developed, in Byzantium the upper class retained a profound affinity for urban life and civilization. Even after the end of the early Byzantine period, Byzantine aristocrats preferred cities.<sup>2543</sup> In contrast, in the West, in a letter to king Athalaric, Cassiodorus explains the advantages of urban life, in the hope of persuading the landlords of Bruttium to return to their city. There education was available, meetings with nobles were a source of pleasure, visits to the forum were enjoyable, and one could socialize through various activities, such as visits to the baths, dinners or playing dice.<sup>2544</sup>

In the early Byzantine period the *proasteion*, the suburban residence of a landlord, where he could stay while visiting his estate, was a favoured aristocratic residence. In the suburban estates *peasants* (*γεωργοί*), gardeners, land guards (*ἀγροφυλάκας*) worked as did other specialized artisans, such as smiths, potters, brick makers, etc.<sup>2545</sup> The *proasteion* named Koparia in Constantinople inside the gate of the wall of Sycæ, attested in Novel 159 (a. 555), included praetoria, harbours, houses and shops for rent, inside and outside the gate, a bath, gardens inside and outside the wall, a "hippodrome" (probably a place to raise horses), and inside the hippodrome a garden and a cistern.<sup>2546</sup> The preference of some great landlords for *proasteia* is also documented in the papyri. Outside the walls of Oxyrhynchus, the Apion family owned a palatial residence with vineyards and other cultivated land.<sup>2547</sup> From the area of Caesarea Maritima comes a remarkable example of a suburban villa without any agricultural function, dated to the middle of the sixth century, in the years after the Samaritan revolt in 529, and located 6 km from the city, on a hilltop: it was an impressive complex of around 3000 m<sup>2</sup> with courtyards and colonnades. The building material was reused, but most of the marble revetments and other ornaments were removed after it was abandoned. Fragments of its surviving ornamental elements indicate that it was luxurious and that the owners were Christians. The building was perhaps the suburban villa of the governor of Caesarea.<sup>2548</sup> Although in this case the transfer of the governor's residence to the suburbs may have been dictated by local circumstances, i.e. the Samaritan revolt, it also coincides with the pronounced preference of aristocrats for *proasteia*. Inside the city of Caesarea, however, to the south, palatial residences were maintained until the Muslim occupation of the city, when the members of the upper class fled, abandoning their luxurious dwellings.<sup>2549</sup>

From the fourth century, great aristocratic houses of the Roman peristyle type, owned by the urban wealthy, underwent profound changes, and in their final stage are marked by signs of disintegration and ruralization.<sup>2550</sup> During the first stages, large luxurious houses were subdivided to accommodate more people, either sold to new, poorer owners, or rented by the original owners to members of the lower classes. By the sixth century, the architecture of the Roman type of large house had radically altered. The intercolumniation of the peristyle was closed, rooms, including triclinia, were subdivided to create new living space for more residents. In some cases, archaeological evidence reveals that the aristocrats

<sup>2542</sup> Bagnall, *Egypt*, 71; Haas, *Alexandria*, 55-56.

<sup>2543</sup> Kaplan, *Les hommes*, 220-221.

<sup>2544</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae* VIII.31.

<sup>2545</sup> *p. Cairo* 10106 (ca. 555).

<sup>2546</sup> Novel 159, *proem*, p. 738.6-12.

<sup>2547</sup> G. Hauser, *Recherches sur les sens du mot ἀγρονομία dans le grec d'Égypte*, *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4 (1967), 192-196.

<sup>2548</sup> Y. Porath, *Tel Afar*, *ESI* 7-8 (1989), 1-3.

<sup>2549</sup> Holm, *Bouleutic Class*, 626-627; flight of aristocrats from Carthage: Humphrey, *Vandal and Byzantine Carthage*, 117-118.

<sup>2550</sup> See also the remarks of Noyé, *Villes*, 709.



were still living in part of the subdivided house, while in other sections workshops were functioning.<sup>255</sup> The living conditions of the urban upper class were clearly deteriorating. The last stage of the aristocratic houses, dating from the middle of the sixth century, was one of profound decline. The peristyle type of house was abandoned forever and no more such houses were built. The old houses, then abandoned by their rich owners, were taken over by peasants and artisans.

At the end of the early-Byzantine period changes in domestic architecture lead to the mediaeval model, which consists of rural components. The ground floor was used for stables and storerooms, while the family reception room and living quarter were located on the upper floor. The radical discontinuity with the Roman and late ancient *domus* is clear. In early mediaeval Rome such houses were organized in complexes and included gardens, orchards and barns. They are attested in the texts as *curtes*, a term deriving from the rural environment and suggesting the spread of rural architecture and life in the city. This type of house derives either from the rural house that existed in Italy during the Roman empire or from that used by the foreign invaders, or from both. It was introduced to the cities because of the insecurity of the period, the agricultural character of cities, which created a need for agricultural activities in the ground floor, and the decline of the water supply and drainage system.<sup>256</sup> Later, in mediaeval Byzantium, aristocratic houses in the cities, including Constantinople, had various installations for agricultural production. For example, the house of Michael Attaleiates in Constantinople included a chapel and a donkey-driven mill on the ground floor.<sup>257</sup>

In most of the urban centres, the next step towards ruralization occurred on the eve of the invasions and undoubtedly afterwards, too. At this point agricultural installations, mills, and olive and wine presses multiply everywhere in the urban space, in public and private buildings, in streets and empty lots. Moreover, plots used for cultivation appear inside the cities. A passage from the Funeral Oration to Julian by Libanius makes some very interesting observations: in the fourth century, agricultural land and rural work inside the city walls were incompatible with urban life, and, when they occurred, they were the consequence of the war:

Those cities that escaped the sack by the strength of their walls had no land save for a very small area: their folk were ravaged by famine and had recourse to anything that could serve for food; until the inhabitants were so reduced in number that the cities themselves formed both city and farmland and the uninhabited spaces inside the defences provided land enough for farming (ἕως εἰς τοσοῦτον συμμάτων κατέστησαν ἀστυμέν ὥστε τὰς πόλεις αὐτὰς ἀγροῦς τε εἶναι καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὸ εἶω τῶν περιβόλων δακτυλὸν ἀραιοῦσαν γεωργίαν). Yes, oxen were yoked, furrows drawn, the seed set, and the corn grew, was reaped and threshed, all inside the city gates (καὶ γὰρ βίος ἐξενέγντο καὶ ἀροτρον εἰσάετο καὶ σπέρμα κατεβάλλετο καὶ ἀνθὶς στάχυς, καὶ θεριστὴς καὶ ἄλωις, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα εἶω πύλων).<sup>258</sup>

Of course, gardens and sometimes fields were found in ancient cities, but mainly in those areas without strong ties with the Greco-Roman urban tradition. Procopius mentions open fields and gardens,

<sup>255</sup> See *supra*, pp. 166–173.

<sup>256</sup> R. S. Valentini, *Residential Building in Early Medieval Rome*, in Smith, *Early Medieval Rome*, 101–112; B. Polci, *Some Aspects of the Transformation of the Roman Domus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, *LAA* 1 (2003), 79–109.

<sup>257</sup> P. Gautier, *La diatase de Michel Attaleias*, *REB* 39 (1981), 29–79 (τὸ τετραπύλον κορυφοειδὲς τοῦ ἔξοντος κάτω τῶν θυρίδων).

<sup>258</sup> Libanius, *Op.* XVIII.35 (transl. Norman).

rocky cliffs and pasture land enclosed within the long wall of Caesarea in Cappadocia, making the city's defence difficult.<sup>259</sup> But this was undoubtedly an exception, and it is recorded as such by Procopius, with the obvious implications for the city's defence. Julian of Ascalon clearly defines the "urban agriculture" that was allowed in urban areas: trees, vines and vegetables, all of which do not require cultivation (μη γεωργίας ἐπιτερόμενα, ... μη γεωργούμενα).<sup>260</sup>

But the impact of the invasions on urban centres brought about a fundamental realignment in urban structure. In the Balkans in the second half of the sixth century, most cities were transformed into small, fortified communities, agricultural in character.<sup>261</sup> Fortifications, a natural response to the invasions, inside which the residential areas shrunk, drastically reduced the size of cities. The new urban centres resembled large fortified villages, in terms of size and economic activities. The old distinction between city and *kome* or village shifted to that between fortified city or *kome* and unfortified village. City and fortified *kome* are closer than ever before. From the seventh century the term *kástron* is applied to both fortified cities and large *komai*.<sup>262</sup> In the archaeological record, in early Byzantine urban centres, the signs of ruralization are discerned in the numerous installations for agricultural production in public space and in residential areas inside the earlier large rich houses, and also in the transformation of sections of earlier urban areas into gardens and fields. V. Popović examined the evidence from some urban communities of the northern Balkan peninsula: Sirmium, Dinogetia, Histria, Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad), Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis.<sup>263</sup> While the earlier public buildings and rich private houses were abandoned, poor structures built in the rural style proliferate everywhere. In some cases, the inhabitants of these structures were from the countryside, and had moved into the cities for security. At the same time the presence of barbaric inhabitants is clearly attested in many of the cities in the northern Balkans. Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad) offers spectacular evidence of the city's changing conditions in the course of the sixth century, since it had a life of less than a century. Built by Justinian, it was destroyed and abandoned in the early seventh century. The process of the disintegration of its urban space began in the last decades of the sixth century, after the reign of Justin II, when, during the Avaro-Slavic invasions, population from the suburbs and from the countryside moved into the city. Poor dwellings and shops were built in open urban areas, in porticoes, around churches and in subdivided buildings, thus making the socio-economic changes in the city clear.<sup>264</sup> In the city itself numerous artisans' tools have been found. While the poor constructions of this phase are no longer attributed to the Slavs, because they are not typically Slavic, some objects identified with certainty as Slavic but found in Byzantine strata show that by the end of the sixth century Slavs had been allowed to settle in the city.<sup>265</sup> The con-

<sup>259</sup> Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.4.10–12: Πεδία τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κήπους ἐπιγίνοισι, καὶ σποδείλους τε καὶ θρεμμάτων νομούς. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδέ χρόνῳ διατηροῦν οὐλοδομήσασθαι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔργον. ἅλλ' ἕρ' αὐτὰς ἢ σπέρματος θάλασσαν. Εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ οὐαία τετήρησαν εἶναι, ταῦτα δὲ ἀγρίων κατὰ μίνας ὄντα διαργεῖναιον εἰς τὸς τοῦ χρόνου.

<sup>260</sup> Julian of Ascalon, c. 50.6, and p. 93.

<sup>261</sup> Popović, *Desintegration*, *Bavari*, La ville, 287.

<sup>262</sup> Dagron, *Entre village*, 44 and *supra*, pp. 38–39, 99–100.

<sup>263</sup> Popović, *Desintegration*, and his conclusion of p. 365.

<sup>264</sup> Kondić and Popović, *Caričin Grad*, 372 ff.; *Caričin Grad* II, 297 ff. Since the suburbs have not been yet excavated, it is not known whether the population that moved inside the urban fortifications seeking protection came from these residential districts or from the countryside. See also *Bavari*, La ville, 285.

<sup>265</sup> Kondić and Popović, *Caričin Grad*, 563–564; *Bavari*, La ville, 285. V. Popović, *Un état de peigne en os de type "mérovingien" et les objets d'origine ethnique étrangère à Caričin Grad*, in *Caričin Grad* I, 160–178. In numerous sites Avaroslavic finds are found together with Byzantine artefacts suggesting a close contact of the new settlers with the Byzantine population. Cf. Baratto, *Les témoignages archéologiques de la présence slave au sud du Danube, in Filles et peuplement*, 165–166; Gregory, *Istria*, 159.



struction materials and techniques of these late structures can be easily distinguished from those of the earlier phase. Stones and spolia, bounded with clay, or wood covered with bricks were used.<sup>254</sup> However, the appearance of artisans specialized in metalworking, leather, and woodworking at the end of the sixth century together with the presence of scales and coins suggests that there was still significant economic activity in the city until its abandonment.<sup>255</sup> After the city's destruction in the early seventh century, archaeological evidence reveals that the few inhabitants of the site were the invaders. Wooden huts of the Slavic type appeared in the abandoned city, and some of the pottery was made without the use of wheel.<sup>256</sup> In all the cities of the northern Balkans exposed to invasions, agricultural installations are found in their poor dwellings. Similar observations have been made for the provinces of Epirus Nova and Praevalia. There towards the end of the early Byzantine period, more elements of an agrarian economy are found in urban centres. Rural dwellings multiply, and in the cemeteries by the settlements numerous agricultural tools are found even in sites on the coast that were densely urbanized.<sup>257</sup>

Agricultural installations in some rich urban houses are known from Roman cities as early as the early Roman empire, indicating the extension of some rural activities into the urban sphere.<sup>258</sup> By contrast, agricultural installations dating to the end of the early Byzantine period appear as spontaneous installations implanted into urban districts or large houses that had lost their earlier function. In the late poor subdivisions of the large rich houses, one finds artisans' installations, ovens, mills, olive presses, and installations to house and feed animals. Archaeological reports do not date this last stage of the rich houses with absolute certainty, because the remains inside the poor subdivisions do not offer datable material. Thus, for example, at Salamis in Cyprus the so-called Huilerie was originally the residence of a wealthy family and transformed into an agricultural dwelling in the seventh century.<sup>259</sup> In Apamea, the many magnificent houses, most of which are located in the centre of the city – the Triclinos House, the Pilaster House, the Console House, the House of Console Capitals, the House of the Deer, the House of the Doric Peristyle, the House of the Aqueduct, the House of Trilobe Columns and the House of the Bilobe Columns – show signs of remodelling and reconstruction during the reign of Justinian, either because of destruction by earthquakes or because of cultural changes. Some were destroyed by fire in the later part of the sixth century, probably by the Persians in 573. The last stage of transformation is hard to date, but it is associated with the Persian invasion in 573, the Persian war in 602, and the occupation of the city in 611. Apamea was reoccupied by the army of Heraclius in 630, and there are some signs of reconstruction and reoccupation of the rich houses by the wealthy owners who probably had returned. Six years later, however, the city was occupied by Arabs, at which point the city's ruralization was complete. The rich owners abandoned the city and their rich residences were occupied by peasants who subdivided

<sup>254</sup> Popović, *Les témoins archéologiques*, 500–502; idem, *Desintegration*, 545–566; Spieser, *La ville*, 324–326; Sodini, *L'habitat urbain*, 370–373.

<sup>255</sup> During the final years of urban life in the Balkans, while cities became ruralized and fortified and living conditions deteriorated, the artisans continued to work in the established tradition. Bavant, *La ville*, 287.

<sup>256</sup> L. Bjelajac, *La céramique et les lampes*, in *Carin Grad II*, 185.

<sup>257</sup> S. Ananali, *Arheologija dle bupina* (Tirana 1980), 55–63; idem, *Le problème de la formation du peuple albanais à la lumière des données archéologiques*, *Istria* 12/2 (1982), 52–53; idem, *Des Illyriens aux Albanais (les nouvelles données de l'archéologie)*, *Istria* 15/1 (1983), 220.

<sup>258</sup> P. Leveau, P. Sallières and J.-P. Vallat, *Campagnes de la Méditerranée romaine: Occident* (Paris 1993), 45–46, 150–152, 225–226.

<sup>259</sup> Argenti et al., *L'Huilerie*, 51–53. Another example is the great mansion at Nea Paphos, abandoned in the sixth century. Poor inhabitants settled in the south part of the aristocratic residence and caused much damage to its mosaics and statues by setting up their ovens and stables for their animals. W. A. Duszewski, A preliminary report on the excavations of the Polish archaeological mission at Kato (Nea) Paphos in 1966 and 1967, *RDAC* 1968, 39; idem, Polish excavations at Kato (Nea) Paphos in 1970 and 1971, *RDAC* 1972, 220–221; idem, *Nea Paphos*, *ET* 7 (1973), 291, 294.

the houses without any concern for order and who employed any available material. Mangers and attachments for animals are found everywhere. An upper floor was preserved, where the inhabitants lived while cooking in the court. The accumulated rubbish suggests a low cultural level.<sup>260</sup>

Finally, during the invasions and in the period following, some sections of cities were transformed into agricultural land for market gardening. The reasons for this radical change are twofold. First, the urban dwellers were forced to cultivate empty lots to survive during sieges, and second, the old order and the old upper class having collapsed, the lower classes had no interest in preserving the old forms of urban space. Furthermore, the new inhabitants, who came from rural sites or were of culturally different origin, had no affinities with urban culture and introduced elements of rural life and economy into the cities. From the cities of Greece, the archaeological evidence of fields within the cities is still rare. In Nemea from the sixth century the area of the pagan temple was turned over to agricultural use, which employed irrigation channels.<sup>261</sup> In the provinces of the East, only a few examples are recorded in recent archaeological reports, from Sagalassos, Caesarea Maritima, Scythopolis and Diocæsarea (Sepphoris). In Sagalassos, the trend towards employing earlier urban plots of land for agricultural activities dates to before the middle of the seventh century, when the city collapsed and was abandoned. There the suburbs of the city, which in the past were used as residential districts, were given over to agriculture. In the area of the baths there is evidence of cultivation of walnuts and possibly of cereals. In the seventh century the public lavatory of the baths, built after the earthquake in the early sixth century, was used to produce fertiliser from human waste mixed with lime. Also in the same century the only large aristocratic mansion on the site was turned into stables or an area for the storage of dry dung. Butchers dumped cattle bones in the elegant street fountain adorning the monumental approach to the Lower Agora with six busts of gods on either side.<sup>262</sup> The theatre of Diocæsarea was used for agriculture.<sup>263</sup> In the two other cities of Israel, Caesarea Maritima and Scythopolis, the Arab conquest in 640 appears to have been the major catalyst for the new organization of urban space. In Caesarea, after the Arab conquest, residences to the south along the coast near the amphitheatre, among which was the praetorium of the proconsul of Palestine, were abandoned and turned into agricultural plots. The site was levelled with city refuse, and remodelled into a series of terraces with walls and stone irrigation channels. In another location, north and west of the bathhouse, buildings, already in decline from the late sixth century, were levelled and turned into gardens with an irrigation system employing water from a well, perhaps by a landowner or the civic authorities. It is possible that the initiative was taken while the city was under siege by the Arabs.<sup>264</sup> In Scythopolis, in the area of Palladius Street, alluvial soil was gathered and terraces were constructed, probably for agricultural use, utilizing drums from the north portico.<sup>265</sup> In the early Islamic period, the ancient city of Scythopolis assumed an agricultural character. In the words of Y. Tsafir and R. Foerster:

<sup>260</sup> Foss, Syria, 217–226, 262.

<sup>261</sup> S. G. Müller, *Excavations at Nemea, 1975*, *Hesperia* 45 (1976), 174–202; Nemea I. D. E. Buge et al., *Excavations at Nemea. Topographical and Architectural Studies: The Sacred Square, the Xenon, and the Bath* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1992), 1, 5, 19–20, 70, and passim; S. G. Müller et al., *Nemea. A Guide to the Site and Museum* (Athens 2004), 106–107 and fig. 74 (p. 108); A. Avramca, Φωσφόρ χαρβάλλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων σκαμνίσματα: Ἀντικείμενα καὶ εἰσόδους ἀπὸ τὸ δαμασκὸν τοῦ Κασσίου, *Kathimerini* 2002, 692 and photo in p. 693; idem, *Peloponnesos*, 115.

<sup>262</sup> Vasilavertse et al., *Sagalassos*, 269, 270.

<sup>263</sup> J. F. Strange and Th. R. W. Longstaff, *Sepphoris (Sapphoris)*, 1986 (III), *IEJ* 37 (1987), 280.

<sup>264</sup> J. F. Strange and Th. R. W. Longstaff, *Sepphoris (Sapphoris)*, 1986 (III), *IEJ* 37 (1987), 280.

<sup>265</sup> Y. Porath, A. Rahm and J. Patrick, *The Caesarea Excavation Project – March 1992–June 1994*, *ESI* 17 (1998), 40, 42–4.

<sup>266</sup> Y. Porath, A. Rahm and J. Patrick, *The Urban Ruralization in Provincia Palaestina: The Demise of the Byzantine Praetorium at Caesarea*, 98 (1994), 508; J. Patrick, *The Urban Ruralization in Provincia Palaestina: The Demise of the Byzantine Praetorium at Caesarea*, *Twenty-Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers, 5–8 November 1998, University of Kentucky*, 41.

<sup>267</sup> Tsafir and Foerster, *Urbanism*, 138.



Baysan reveals itself as a medium-sized town of rather rural character situated within the frame of magnificent Roman architecture. If a traveller in Baysan's streets raised his eyes, he could still see a skyline composed of impressive colonnades, porticoes, the remains of the scaenae frons of the theatre, the upper story of the *nymphaeum*, and even the remains of the *pronaos* of the temple in the city centre. If he lowered his eyes he would see how the lower parts of these monuments were concealed by ordinary residential buildings, shops, and workshops that were inserted into porticoes of the streets and leaned against monumental façades.<sup>2574</sup>

In Antioch the gardens and empty space mentioned in the Islamic period were probably a development dating to before the Islamic invasion in the middle of the seventh century.<sup>2575</sup> Even in the capital, Constantinople, a rural appearance often characterized the public space of the mediaeval period: texts refer to the flocks of pigs and sheep that were led to the city's central market,<sup>2576</sup> and rich houses, like that of Michael Attaleiates, mentioned above, possessed agricultural installations. In the West the phenomenon is better illustrated because it was more acute on account of the rapid disintegration of the cities. At the time of Atalaric, the grandson of Theoderic, herds of cattle passed through the Forum of Peace.<sup>2577</sup> In the Palatine in Rome there is evidence of agricultural soil and agricultural activities in the second half of the fifth and in the early sixth century.<sup>2578</sup> Ruralization of the large luxurious houses and of the entire urban space is evident in Italian cities from the sixth century: gardens and vineyards and areas for animal breeding are found even in provincial capitals. In the middle of the sixth century the cities suffered severe depopulation and the contrast between city and countryside had diminished and in most cases had disappeared. Cassiodorus praises his natal city Scolacium, *prima urbium Brutiorum*, for being open to the fields from which it was separated with a wall, although it had agricultural lots inside.<sup>2579</sup> In the forum of Iol Caesarea, abundant cereal seeds and barley may have come from cultivated fields in the city and date to the seventh century.<sup>2580</sup> In the West agricultural land, used for market gardening inside cities, is recognized by the so-called layer of black soil, with which archaeologists are familiar.<sup>2581</sup>

Together with installations for agricultural production in the cities, kilns appeared everywhere,<sup>2582</sup> in or near abandoned ancient buildings and temples, for burning the slabs of marble and architectural ornaments to produce lime. Kilns in ancient public areas and in residential quarters lend the urban landscape an air of urban decline and desolation. They appear in urban areas that had lost their earlier function and were abandoned. They too, show the total break with the ancient urban architecture and the legacy of the past.

<sup>2574</sup> Ibid., 136-137.

<sup>2575</sup> Fom, Syria, 195. Later sources mention gardens and open space within the walls, a situation that probably prevailed already by the mid-seventh century.

<sup>2576</sup> Mango, *Le développement*, 57.

<sup>2577</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* VIII.21.11.

<sup>2578</sup> P. Arnould and Y. Thébert, Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini), *MEFR* 107/1 (1995), 490-491; H. Broise and Y. Thébert, Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini), *MEFR* 108/1 (1996), 450; B. Bavan, Cadre de vie et habitat urbain en Italie centrale byzantine (VIe-VIIIe s.), *MEFR/MA* 101 (1989), 465-532; R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli Valenzani, Episodio di trasformazione del paesaggio urbano nella Roma altomedievale, *Archeologia medievale* 23 (1996), 53-99.

<sup>2579</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae* XII.15.

<sup>2580</sup> Potter, *Iol Caesarea*, 61; Kolendo and Kozula, Quelques problèmes, 175-184, esp. 181 ff.

<sup>2581</sup> Lewis, *Agricultural Production*, 61-63; A. Carandini, L'ultima civiltà sepolta o del massimo oggetto desueto, secondo un archeologo, in *Storia di Roma* III/2, 11-38.

<sup>2582</sup> Even in recent studies it is admitted that the phenomenon is not fully understood, as, for example, in Morrisson and Sodini, *Economy*, 203: "but we are not able to fathom the reasons for this phenomenon".

From a different perspective, changes in pottery types also reveal ruralization. With the progressive slowdown of long distance trade and the closing of international markets, facilities producing high quality pottery could not continue to function. Pottery production gradually became local and served local communities and those of the surrounding area. The decline of fine pottery and the appearance of handmade pottery is a rural element in urban households and reveals the degradation of the living conditions of the urban dwellers. At the same time there was an increasing preference for non-ceramic containers and, perhaps a little later, for woodenware.<sup>2583</sup> The presence of hand made pottery in urban areas is also associated with the conditions created inside the cities in the period of invasions, when peasants from the countryside fled into the cities, while the members of the upper class left for more secure places in other provinces. In Justiniana Prima, the pottery made without a wheel dates to the period before the city's destruction,<sup>2584</sup> when professional potters were no longer active, either because the upper class was in decline or because the rural population inside the city was increasing. The material life of the urban dwellers was becoming increasingly poorer and was taking on rural characteristics.

Christian burials scattered inside the cities' residential areas and in abandoned public and private ancient buildings mark the last stage of Christianization and degradation of the urban space. We have seen how Christianity changed people's perception of death and how burials were first introduced into the cities with the martyrs' relics and privileged burials in and around churches. From the second half of the sixth century and in the seventh, however, the proliferation of burials in the context of deep urban degradation is usually to be connected with the invasions. Burials mark the decline of the ancient urban centres, the point at which continuity with the ancient city is totally lost. Again scholars encounter difficulties in dating burials, for early Christian burials do not contain coins or other datable material. Instead, they are dated from the context and stratigraphy, which do not always provide the desired accuracy. In most cases, burials in urban areas in a state of abandonment and disintegration appear in the sixth century, but it is difficult to determine whether they should be dated to before or during the period of invasions.<sup>2585</sup> From evidence derived from all areas of the empire, it is clear that changes in the articulation of urban space and the relocation of the city centres to other sites created a vacuum and precipitated the appearance of Christian burials in urban districts. It has been suggested that urban sections and buildings where burials appeared may have belonged to the Church, while the reduction of the area defended by the early Byzantine walls may explain the appearance of burials in old urban districts. Another factor that precipitated the *intra muros* burials were epidemics or famines with a great number of victims.<sup>2586</sup>

In the turmoil of the invasions the old urban order was shaken, emergencies dictated the use of abandoned buildings and civic land for burial, as did the insecurity outside the walls and the need to prevent the desecration of tombs by the enemy. At the same time the decline in population due to the plague in combination with invasions created much vacant land in the cities for burials. This phenomenon is to be observed in areas that suffered from invasions in the fifth century. In Sirmium around the church in the city centre, a cemetery had developed before the city was occupied by the Huns in 441. In the course of the fifth century, scattered burials and small groups of tombs appear in residential districts inside the walls, and belong to the Romanized population of the city, while the tombs of the Ostrogoths *foederati* lay outside the walls.<sup>2587</sup> In Carthage, the Vandal invasion probably caused burials to appear in the fifth century throughout the city, especially in abandoned buildings. They are arranged along the

<sup>2583</sup> See supra, pp. 42-44.

<sup>2584</sup> Caridin *Grad* I, 337.

<sup>2585</sup> H. R. Hurst and S. P. Roskams, *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission, I.1. The Avenue of President Habib Bourguiba*, Salammbô: *The Site and Finds other than Pottery* (Sheffield 1984), 46-47.

<sup>2586</sup> Joshua the Stylite, c. 43 (p. 33); Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.23.9-11.

<sup>2587</sup> Bavan, *La ville*, 254, 262-263; Popović, *Disintegration*, 330.



Theodosian wall inside and outside the line of the walls. The levelling of buildings in the vicinity of the wall apparently created available lots for burials.<sup>258</sup> In the cities where the invaders settled, they introduced burials in the residential areas.<sup>259</sup> At the same time burials inside the urban space, together with the agricultural installations, gave the cities an additional tone of rusticity, since burials near houses were a rural tradition.<sup>260</sup>

Finally, archaeology reveals a further type of disintegration of urban space, consisting of a slow process of fragmentation of the old urban residential area into nuclei of agricultural character around churches, while ancient civic centres were abandoned and agricultural installations and burials appeared in public areas and residential quarters. This last stage of the early Byzantine cities, also connected with the decline of population, is not dated with certainty. Archaeological reports place it in the context of the invasions, and indeed there is plenty of evidence to show that urban life disintegrated when cities suffered from invasion. The phenomenon is better documented in peripheral provinces of the empire. For example, in the fifth century, when Sirmium was occupied by the Huns, the Ostrogoths and the Gepids, the inhabited area retracted and nuclei of dwellings set at a distance from each other evolved. In the sixth century only the south part of the city was inhabited.<sup>261</sup> In North Africa a shift to the periphery of the city is attested from the fourth century due to wars, and the Vandal and Byzantine conquests.<sup>262</sup>

During this development is of paramount importance: did the decline and breakdown of cities into smaller communities occur before the invasions and would it have happened regardless of any stimulus provided by the invasions? Although more studies from various sites are needed to trace the process of urban disintegration in the decades before the wars, there is some evidence indicating that the phenomenon was not always related to the invasions. During the first stage of a potential process of disintegration, the new articulation of the urban space, the irrelevance by the sixth century of ancient civic centres and the creation of new ones around churches were major factors in the loss of the previous urban unity of space and community. As time passed, and historical circumstances changed, economic stagnation and recurring outbreaks of plague weakened the urban populations.<sup>263</sup> Ephesus appears to have suffered some population decrease in the inhabited area outside the Byzantine walls before the Persian invasion of the seventh century. In the fifth and sixth centuries the centre of Ephesus moved to the Church of St. Mary and the bishop's and the governor's palaces. This area was surrounded by a wall, dated to the fifth or early sixth century,<sup>264</sup> and it included the Arcadiane and the area from the harbour to the theatre (Plan III). The new line of fortifications left out the area of the Embolos and the Upper Agora, the old administrative centre, which was apparently no longer in use in the early Byzantine city. The other part of the city lay on the fortified hill of Ayasuluk. By 600, ancient Ephesus seems to have comprised only isolated pockets of habitation and of commercial activity, while large areas stood deso-

<sup>258</sup> S. Stevens, *Sépulcres tardifs dans les murs à Carthage, in Monuments funéraires. Institutions autochtones en Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale*, 1997 colloque int. de l'Institut de l'Archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord (Carthage 1995), 207-218, idem, *Transitional Neighborhoods and Suburban Frontiers in Late- and Post-Roman Carthage*, in *Medieval and Modern, Shifting Frontiers*, 1997, S. P. Ellis and J. H. Humphrey, Interpretation and Analysis of the Cemetery, in *Carthage*, 325-336.

<sup>259</sup> In the Palatine in Rome, for example, the few scraps with finds, date to the first half of the sixth century and belong to the Constantinian or Valentinian period (Vigna Barone), *MEFRA* 106 (1994), 433.

<sup>260</sup> Leoni, *Sepulchres*, 220.

<sup>261</sup> Baran, *Le village*, 263.

<sup>262</sup> S. Rodière, *Urban Transition in North Africa: Roman and Medieval Towns of the Maghreb*, in Christie and Lowrey, *Towns in Transition*, 185-194.

<sup>263</sup> On the plague as one of the causes of urban decline see supra, p. 40.

<sup>264</sup> Karasawa, *Grave de la déesse*, 130-142, idem, *The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympius*, in H. Karasawa, *Ephesus, Metropolis of Asia* (Valley Forge, Pa. 1997), 311-326.

late.<sup>265</sup> The weakness of communities in the seventh century is clearly documented in the archaeological record. After destruction by earthquakes, instead of being restored, urban centres were broken up into small settlements, which suggests that the invasions merely precipitated a trend that had begun earlier. A few other examples from some of the best-excavated sites tend to confirm this development. Sardis in the seventh century dissolved into several small rural settlements, with the castle on the acropolis, and its population was reduced perhaps as much as 90%.<sup>266</sup> Carthage in the middle of the seventh century disintegrated into poor communities around churches.<sup>267</sup> The ruralization and disintegration of Petra into small settlements dates to the seventh century.<sup>268</sup> After the earthquake of 670 early Arab invasions prevented reconstruction of Gortyn, which consequently broke up in small agricultural communities.<sup>269</sup> Eleutherna evolved in a similar fashion during the same period.<sup>270</sup>

Earthquakes were a major factor in weakening cities at the end of the early Byzantine period and are often considered an essential cause of their decline.<sup>271</sup> Cities that suffered severe damage from earthquakes were normally restored on the initiative of and with funds from the imperial government. Salamis in Cyprus was destroyed by earthquakes in 332 and 342 and reconstructed by Constantius II (337-361), the inhabitants expressing their gratitude to the emperor by giving their new city the name Constantia. We have seen how Justinian restored Antioch after it had been struck by an earthquake. Agathias reminded his readers that in the past, cities ruined by earthquakes were restored:

To be moved to pity by tragedies such as these seems only human, but to declare oneself utterly baffled and astonished would be to betray one's ignorance of past history and of the fact that this world of ours is by its very nature continually exposed to a variety of calamities and misfortunes. Indeed frequently in the past whole cities have been destroyed by earthquakes, losing all their original population and eventually being repopled, as new cities rise on their ruins.<sup>272</sup>

The role of the state in such major restoration projects was essential. When the central government showed no interest and took no initiative in restoring cities damaged by earthquakes, they never recovered. For example, in Cyprus, Idalion, Goleto, Theroi and Knidos were reduced to small rural communities by earthquakes in the fourth century, whilst Paphos was also severely affected. When Aempania in the Byzantine province of Palaestina Prima (today Israel), was destroyed by an earthquake in 429, it disintegrated into several small communities in the surrounding territory, whose economic activity replaced that of the city.<sup>273</sup> Obviously, since the city did not serve any political or military purpose, there was no interest on the part of the authorities or the local upper class in restoring it, and it was aban-

<sup>265</sup> Roussier, *The Decline*, 285.

<sup>266</sup> C. Foss and G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Regional Setting and Urban Development*, in *Medieval and Modern, A Survey of Sardis*, 32-33.

<sup>267</sup> L. Ennaffi, *Carthage. Une métropole déclinée du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1997), 225.

<sup>268</sup> Fourn, *La ville antique*, 242.

<sup>269</sup> A. Di Vita, *Le rovine della S. A. L. A. a Gortina. Un contributo alla conoscenza di Città antiche e preistoriche*, *XXXVII Convegno* 38 (1991), 170-171, idem, *Gortina II*, 199, idem, *Cyprus. Documenti d'archeologia* 28 (2000), 29. On the break up of cities in clusters of dwellings see Hachet, *The Idea*, 15-16.

<sup>270</sup> Yargali, *Eleutherna*, 311-313.

<sup>271</sup> See supra, pp. 40-42.

<sup>272</sup> Agathias II.15.7 (transl. Frendo, 80).

<sup>273</sup> M. Fischer, *An Early Byzantine Settlement at Kh. El-Zeit (Israel). A Contribution to the Archaeology of Agriculture in the Holy Land*, *ACAC* 37 (1996), 177-187.



done. Sagalassos was struck by earthquakes in 518 and 528 after which it never recovered. Its aqueduct was damaged, which had a negative effect on the life of the city.<sup>2604</sup> In Greece, Thasos and Philippi were destroyed by earthquakes in the early seventh century, in a period when they no longer had the resources to recover.<sup>2605</sup> The archaeological record shows that in the latter part of the sixth century and in the seventh, cities struck by earthquakes were unable to recover. The efforts that the local communities and the state put into restoring the devastated city were very small in comparison to the efforts of earlier years. The scale of reconstruction was limited, the materials used and the techniques employed indicate the cities' financial difficulties. In many cases, especially in the Balkans, the invasions that followed immediately afterwards gave the cities the final blow. But even had the invasions not taken place, still after such natural disasters in the late sixth and in the seventh century, the restored cities would have been very different, presumably smaller and poorer. The inhabitants would have responded by levelling off ruins from foundations for new buildings or abandoning the site altogether. Such a reaction is illustrated by Scythopolis, a vivid example of an early mediaeval city that continued to live on the site in very much reduced circumstances after a devastating earthquake in 749. The restoration of the ancient remains by Israeli archaeologists allows the modern visitor to visualize the city in different historical periods. The Roman and early Byzantine city may be seen in the area of Palladius Street, and the effects of an earthquake may be surmised from the ruins from the earthquake in the section from the Roman temple and the nymphaeum to Sylvanus Street. Today the visitor may see the collapsed columns and the raised level above the ruins, over which the new dwellings were constructed. Parts of the collapsed columns that projected above the new level of habitation were cut to bring them to the floor level of the Islamic dwellings (Figures, 58a, 58b, 58c).



FIG. 58a. Muslim walls built with spolia among the ruins of Scythopolis after the earthquake of 749.

<sup>2604</sup> See *supra*, pp. 204–206, 237–247.  
<sup>2605</sup> See *supra*, p. 25.



FIG. 58b. Column of the Roman Temple in Scythopolis (2nd century AD) collapsed in the earthquake of 749.



FIG. 58c. After the destruction caused by the earthquake of 749, the Muslim residents of Scythopolis built their houses above the ruins of the destroyed buildings. The photograph shows a portion of a wall built with spolia from the ruins of the Roman Temple.



It is important to emphasize that the new type of Byzantine city first appeared before the sixth century in the areas of the Balkans that were exposed to the invasions. Urban life in the Balkans was affected both by passing waves of invaders and by the constant infiltration of groups of barbarians. Imperial policy had opened the way to this development before the sixth century, when such groups were entrusted with the defence of the frontier zones of the empire and were allowed to settle inside the frontier. Others were given permission to settle in different areas of the empire as part of a settlement concluded after invasions. Barbarian infiltration may have actually been favoured by landowners who found in the barbarians a source of manpower for their estates. During the Avaro-Slavic attack against Thessalonica in 586, the city's inhabitants received Slavs inside the walls and accommodated them in the public baths, which were not in operation at the time.<sup>266</sup> They certainly did not consider the Slavs they protected inside their city to be enemies. Such groups brought with them new rural building techniques and new elements of material life. They were a factor in the ruralization of the cities in a period when the social and economic forces of the cities were weakened. Of course, the role of the cities as places of refuge during enemy invasions is known from all historical periods.<sup>267</sup> In the later part of the sixth century in the Balkans, however, the invasions precipitated and intensified trends that had already appeared in the cities. In Justiniana Prima (Caricin Grad), the changes in urban space occurring in the last decades of the sixth century during the Avaro-Slavic invasions are very well illustrated, since the city was abandoned after it was destroyed in a new attack in the early seventh century. Excavations have revealed the crowded conditions in the last decades of the sixth century inside the urban space caused by the influx of people from the countryside or the suburbs for security. Everywhere small workshops and poor houses appear, occupying public and private buildings. Although artisan production continued and transactions were conducted by coin, indicating that the city still maintained a substantial level of economic activity, the conditions in the city were very different than before. Public space had shrunk now, occupied by modest dense habitations and workshops. Moreover, there are signs of rusticity in the urban space, typical in all cities in this period.

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<sup>200</sup> For example, Theonetus (*Ch.* 54.14), John of Ephesus (*Lives* PO 17 (1923), 19–20), Anonymous (*Strategikon*, c. 12.31–36).

17. <sup>100</sup> *Λεωνίδας* II 442 Κ. α. π. ἐπὶ δὴ τὴν ἀποφασιστικὴν διατάξιν δὲ Κλεομένης, τὸν ἀποφασιστὴν τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν ἐργαστὴν τῆς στήριξης τοῦ ἐπὶ ἀποφασισμοῦ βελήϊου, τὸν ἀπὸ Κλεομένηος ἀποβαλθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

The real threat of invasions and state policy dictated the relocation of cities to new sites, naturally defended for strategic reasons, such as steep hills tops and river promontories with deep precipitous slopes. The Anonymous *Strategikon* describes the preferred locations for the constructing of new cities on high ground with steep slopes, with rivers flowing around, on promontories in the sea or in large rivers connected with the mainland by narrow stretches of land.<sup>241</sup> In some cases, sources suggest that this initiative was taken by the state, as is attested in Procopius' *Buildings*. In other instances, however, we can imagine that it was the urban dwellers, under the leadership of local magnates and, above all, the bishop, who transferred their city to nearby fortified sites.<sup>242</sup> Since the invasions in the northern provinces of the Balkans had already begun in the fourth century, and continued to recur and be followed by

βελτιώσεως και της αντιμετώπισης του ποταμού από άποψη προστασίας του περιβάλλοντος. Διότι, σύμφωνα με τον Νόμο 2650/1998, οι αρμόδιες υπηρεσίες των δήμων και των περιφερειών έχουν την ευθύνη της προστασίας του ποταμού από την ρύπανση, ενώ ο δήμος είναι υπεύθυνος για την προστασία των υδάτινων πόρων και των υδάτινων οικοσυστημάτων. Ο δήμος είναι επίσης υπεύθυνος για την προστασία των υδάτινων πόρων και των υδάτινων οικοσυστημάτων.

<sup>20</sup> R. MacMullen, *Soldiers and Citizens in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1975), 272-73; the classical work of E. N. Luttwak, *The Great Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1975) (Baltimore, Maryland 1976); T. E. Gregory, *Kaizo and Danteschema as Responses to Late Imperial Ideology* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Maryland, 1992), 235, 263; Zanini, *The Urban Ideal*, 201 ff.

[26] J. F. Gascón, The Late Roman Wall at Caesaraugusta (Sagunto), *AE* 1979, 725.

20. *London: Ernest Benn, 1921.*

reproduced 1992) Freeman and Kennedy. *The Money Demand Function: A Survey* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1992).

*The Experiences of Syria in the Ninth Century*. Organizational Management Research Institute, University of Aleppo, 1987.

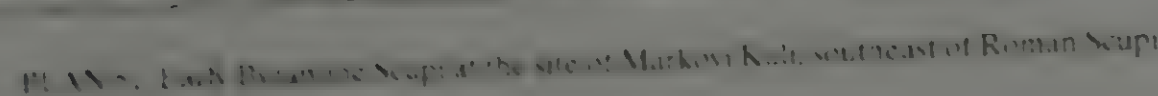
<sup>202</sup> See *supra* pp. 100-101.

1990). Thus, the tradition, which has been dominant in the West









*Castra Augusta Prima*, the *Castra Sertiana*, an imperial foundation at the birthplace of Justinian, bearing witness to the new pride of Byzantine city (Plan I). It was built on a naturally defended site on the left bank of the river, between the two lakes by small rivers. Its over 500 m long and at its west point 150 m wide, divided parts the territory with the bishop's palace, the upper city, with a central circus and theatres on the slopes of the quarters, and the lower city, are surrounded by walls. The separation between the two parts, the upper and lower cities, usually each of them fortified, is typical of the late Roman town. Such a division is also attested in the provinces of the East. For example, in the *Castra Augusta Prima* at *Augusta*, *Castra* in *Medea* is shown with the upper town fortified, originally the Roman *castrum*, and the lower town, possibly enclosed by a wall (see supra, p. 129 fig. 12). The existence of two towns, the *castra* and *urbs*, with similar surfaces and layouts, is attested. In the seventh century, this type of division was becoming common being attested in literary sources.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Thomas, *Handbook of Languages: A New Late Roman Periodization* (Pisa, 1984), 151, 199, 463, 511.

The city of Diospolis (metropolis in Thessaly, built on a high plain, the *Diogenianopolis* of the 19th century) has been identified on the site of Armenochion ca. 4 km from the lake of Castoria. It was destroyed after the invasion of the Goths in 473-483. Justinian transferred the city to a new location on an island in the lake of Castoria. The location was secure since access to the island was possible only through a narrow strip of land fifteen feet wide.<sup>262a</sup> Demetrias was probably destroyed by the Ostrogoths in 482 and its administrative and ecclesiastical centre was gradually relocated to the fortified hill of ancient Iolkos. The latter had apparently been inhabited previously and its walls were probably restored by Justinian.<sup>262b</sup> In Cappadocia, the *primarium* Moezus was located on level ground, but lay in a ruinous state. Justinian relocated it to the west of the old fort above a very steep slope, thus making it inaccessible to attacks. There the emperor built churches, hospices and baths, and promoted the new foundation to the rank of metropolis and capital of Cappadocia Terza.<sup>262c</sup>

In the sixth century, the new function of the city as an ecclesiastical and military centre,<sup>207</sup> without the defining features of ancient urbanism, namely the agora/forum, colonnaded avenues, spectacle buildings and other public monuments, obsolete by then, was promoted by the state even in areas where the threat of enemy invasions was not obvious. Thus the city type known from various areas of the Balkans, is also found in Asia Minor. Sagalassos in Pisidia was struck by an earthquake in 518 and suffered major destruction. There was some reconstruction work but of lower quality than before, and accompanied by a great deal of encroachment on the city's public space.<sup>208</sup> The earthquake caused no damage to the six water channels bringing water to the city, which may have been the result of their location of the city to nearby Aqlisun, which has many early Byzantine remains. Dated to the earthquake in the middle of the seventh century, the city of Seguentium (*Siguntum*) also suffered severely forever.<sup>209</sup> In Uxida also, the evolution to the new type of settlement after the earthquake was the situation of which offered security from invasion; applying in the same period in Italy, Africa and elsewhere like Xanthos, Pmyra, Kadyandria, Sidama and Telamones, shrunk to the size of small towns. In Roman periods, Arkaranda, built on a plateau 800 m high, was transferred to the new site, 100 m away, on a promontory around which a river flows; Antia seems a fortified settlement, 1 km<sup>2</sup> in area, built up, densely built with two-story houses, a market-place, temples, a theatre, and at least three churches (Plan 22). Its site, naturally defended by the formation of the land, is close to the sea. Its inhabitants Ovakli and Anklise are other new small settlements of the area. The fortress of Ovakli, on a steep hill-top, probably replaced a small late Roman settlement, possibly one of the old Ovakli, a new settlement of the sixth century in a secluded valley, with several stone houses forming a village.

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1. *Barro* (1996) *Journal of Development Economics* 61: 355-384.

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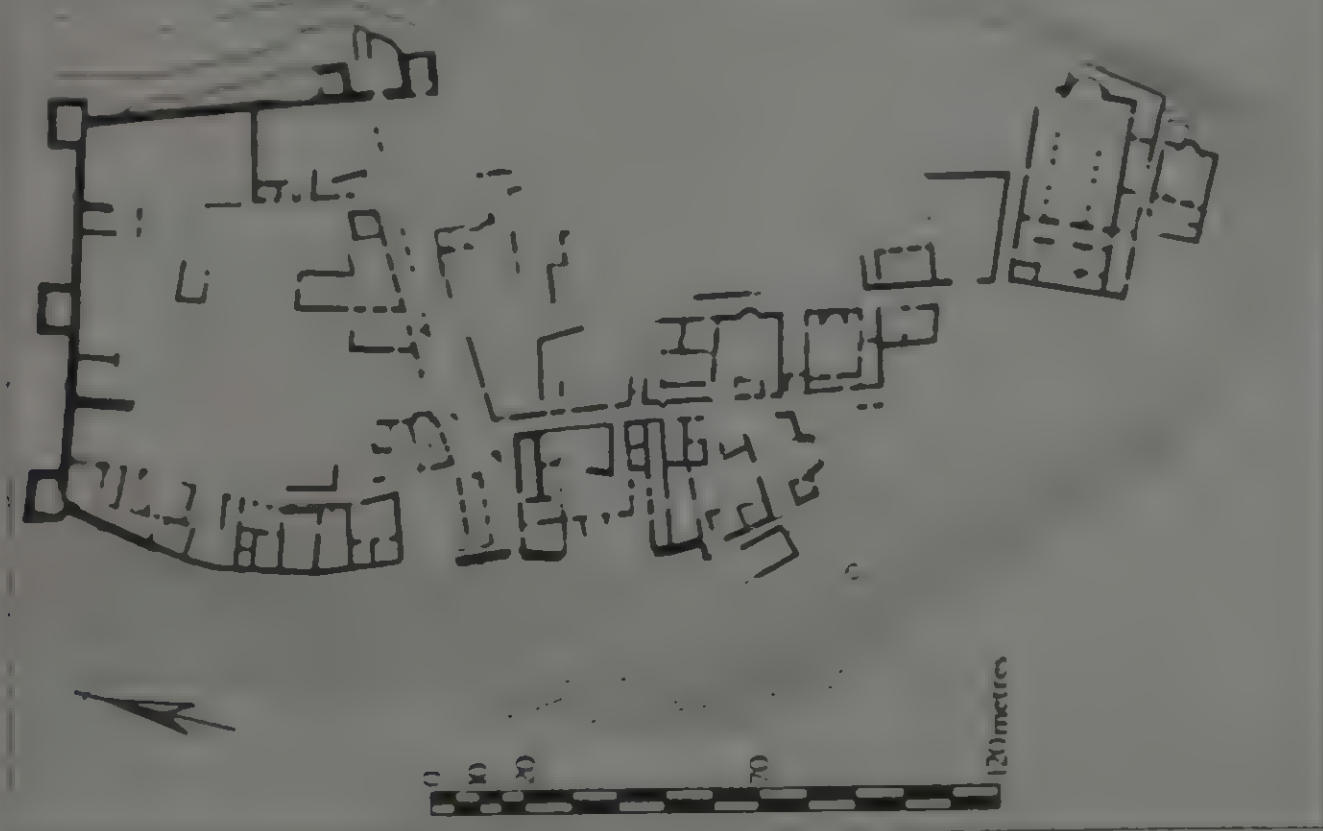
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PLAN 62. Anfi in Lycia.

presses.<sup>2629</sup> The ecclesiastical and military functions of the Greco-Roman city of Panemoteichos in Pisidia were transferred to a new fort at the site of Ören Tepe, about 1.5 km away (supra, p. 390, Plan 42). The new fort had a basilica church. Since no early Christian remains have been found in Panemoteichos, it is plausible that the new town became the seat of the local bishop and of a garrison.<sup>2630</sup>

To sum up: the ancient city, no longer supported by institutional traditions, and economic prosperity and an affluent upper class, succumbed to a slow material decline. At the end of the period examined, urban society had begun to be overwhelmingly agrarian. The worldly splendour of the late antique cities gave way to a modest city with a Christian religious dimension and a strong military identity (see supra, p. 390, plan 42). The new military type of city, the city-*kastron*, was born as a result of a coordinated state policy that shaped and gave birth to the mediaeval form of city.

<sup>2629</sup> M. W. Warter, *Survey antiker Städte in Lykien*, in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980), 29-36; R. M. Harrison, *Land and Settlement in Early Medieval Lycia* (ibid., 109-118; idem, *Lycia*, 232-234; Brandes, *Städte*, 118 ff. Another example offers the small city of Alakula in Caria. V. Ruggeri and F. Giordano, *Una città bizantina sul sito cario di Alakula*, *Rapporti preliminari* (C.R. PAZ/1990), 53-68.

<sup>2630</sup> See supra, p. 394.

## CONCLUSIONS

We have focused here on the various aspects of the city in the sixth century A.D. as presented in the literary and historical sources and in the archaeological record. Such a focus, however, requires coverage of what went before and we have therefore extended our survey to sources of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. For the greater part of the book, we have employed the perspective of a historian who attempts to relate the considerable archaeological material available to the written sources.

The city as presented here changes slowly but constantly. This transformation occurs in the context of two major phenomena, namely the great urban development and population increase over the fourth and fifth centuries and, secondly, the celebration of the city in the majority of the literary texts of the time. These two factors, taken together, produce an image of urban prosperity, at odds with the picture that arises from consideration of imperial legislation and of the archaeological record itself.

The idea of the city is one of the dominant concepts in the literature of the period and is to be found in all texts, in the majority of which it is celebrated and praised. Yet the city is not celebrated in the same manner in all texts. Most of our sources employ an antique rhetorical vocabulary to formulate their image of the city, whilst purely Christian sources promote a Christian model of urban life. Nevertheless, through the variety of images employed, the often-contradictory urban motifs and the classical rhetorical clichés, one may discern change and the emergence in the sixth century of a new type of city.

The public space of cities, shaped as it was by splendid ancient monuments, gradually lost its relevance for urban life. The changes wrought by Christianity made obsolete the institutions, such as spectacles, with which the buildings and surrounding urban space were associated. Thus ancient urban buildings were neglected, abandoned, despoiled or encroached upon by private individuals, whilst ownership of ancient public buildings passed to the Church or to private owners, often in the latter case by illegal means. Despite the fluidity that characterizes the period, the trend towards the privatization of public space was strong and universal.

Thus the visual aspect of cities changed radically over this period, as they shed their ancient, Greco-Roman appearance. The change in urban life and consequently the articulation of urban space over the sixth century A.D., brought about by the decay of ancient culture and its institutions, was not total, complete.

Two other factors, in addition to Christianity, were responsible for this change. One is the economic stagnation, evident from the sixth century A.D., caused by the decline of long-distance trade throughout the Mediterranean, consequent upon the collapse of the Western Roman empire. The other related factor is the economic decline of the urban upper classes. Both factors will have interacted, affected the quality of urban life and both merit further investigation, with input from new discoveries offered by archaeological research. The period of invasions accelerated the process, accelerating and intensifying latent tendencies to ruralization in general and the habit of urbanism within the city, in particular, changes that were encouraged by the Church.

The new, mediaeval city, the *kastron*, whose architecture emphasized fortification, emerged in response on the part of the state to invasion. Indeed, the defensive role of the new type of city was the major factor that shaped this new urban model.

The general factors behind the urban transformation of the period were complex, economic and socio-economic. When seen as part of a broad, slow evolution, their interrelatedness becomes clear and they can be understood as part of a broad and complex sequence of historical events.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### I. JOURNALS

- AA: Anatolian Archaeology*  
*AAA: Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν*  
*AAAS: Les Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*  
*AASOR: Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*  
*ABSA: The Annual of the British School at Athens*  
*AD: Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*  
*ADAJ: Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*  
*AE: Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς*  
*AEMT: Το αρχαιολογικό ἔργο στη Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη*  
*AJA: American Journal of Archaeology*  
*AnatArch: Anatolian Archaeology*  
*AnatSt: Anatolian Studies*  
*AnBoll: Analecta Bollandiana*  
*AnuTard: Antiquité Tardive*  
*Anz.: Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*  
*APF: Archiv für Papyrusforschung*  
*APG: Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*  
*ARDA: Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities (Cyprus) (until 1979); Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities (1980-)*  
*ASAtene: Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*  
*AST: Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*  
*BAR Int. Series: British Archaeological Reports, International Series*  
*BASOR: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*  
*BASP: Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*  
*Bbulg: Byzantinobulgaria*  
*BCH: Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*  
*BEQ: Bulletin d'études orientales*  
*BibArch: Biblical Archaeologist*  
*BIFAO: Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*  
*BMGS: Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*  
*ByzF: Byzantinische Forschungen*  
*ByzSl: Byzantinoslavica*  
*CahArch: Cahiers archéologiques fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge*  
*CorsiRav: Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*  
*CQ: The Classical Quarterly*  
*CRAI: Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*



- ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*  
 ZRVI: *Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik und Slavistik*  
 ZSRM: *Zeitschrift der Sozialen Wissenschaften für Rechtsgeschichte, Jurisprudenz und Verwaltung*  
 GRBS: *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*  
 HEP: *Hellenic Epigraphy*  
 IEF: *Israel Exploration Journal*  
 JFA: *Journal of Field Archaeology*  
 JHS: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*  
 JJP: *Journal of Jurisic Papyrology*  
 JJA: *Journal of the American Archaeological Association*  
 JJB: *Journal of the American Archaeological Association*  
 JRA: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*  
 JRS: *The Journal of Roman Studies*  
 KNT: *Klassische Numismatik*  
 LAA: *Late Antique Archaeology* 1: L. Lavan and W. Bowden (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (Leiden, Boston 2003); 2: W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (eds.), *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden, Boston 2004)  
 MDAI-AA: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*  
 MDAI-RA: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*  
 MEFR: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*  
 MEFR-MA: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*  
 OCP: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*  
 PAE: *Papaveria Antiquaria*  
 PBSR: *Papers of the British School at Rome*  
 PEQ: *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (until 1936)  
 PEQ: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1937–)  
 QDAP: *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*  
 RDAC: *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*  
 REG: *Revue des études grecques*  
 ROC: *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*  
 Settimane: *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto)  
 TAPhA: *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*  
 TM: *Travaux et mémoires*  
 VV: *Vizantijskij vremenik*  
 ZDPV: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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 CIG: *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*  
 CIL: *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*  
 CJ: *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 2  
 CJC: *Corpus Iuris Civilis, Institutiones*, ed. P. Krüger, *Institutiones*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Institutiones*, ed. P. Krüger, III, *Novellae*, eds. R. Schöll and W. Kroll (Berlin 1892–1898, repr. 1985)  
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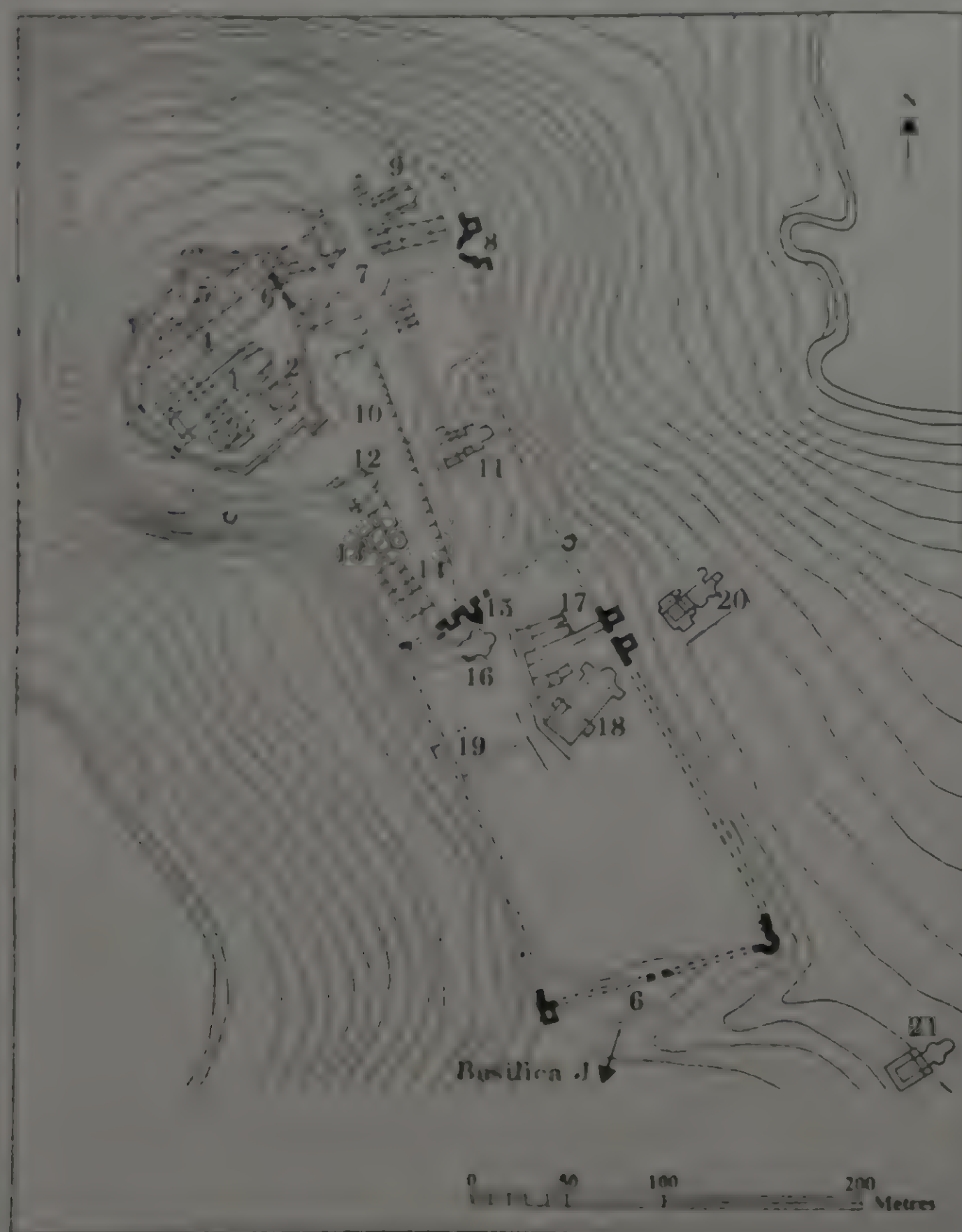
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1. Propylaea 2. Temple of Athena Parthenon 3. Temple of Athena Nike 4. Temple of Athena Polias 5. Temple of Athena Promachos 6. Temple of Athena Sthenobolus 7. Temple of Athena Hygieia 8. Temple of Athena Lysimachia 9. Temple of Athena Polias 10. Temple of Athena Nike 11. Temple of Athena Polias 12. Temple of Athena Nike 13. Temple of Athena Polias 14. Temple of Athena Nike 15. Temple of Athena Polias 16. Temple of Athena Nike 17. Temple of Athena Polias 18. Temple of Athena Nike 19. Temple of Athena Polias 20. Temple of Athena Nike 21. Temple of Athena Polias



1. Propylaea 2. Temple of Athena Parthenon 3. Temple of Athena Nike 4. Temple of Athena Polias 5. Temple of Athena Promachos 6. Temple of Athena Sthenobolus 7. Temple of Athena Hygieia





Figure 8. The Gate of Hachiman, Herson, Octagon and Symphaca. Monumental Adar and in front Gate.

um's North Gate 110. Gymnasium 111. Upper entrance to the site 116. Modern lower entrance to the site



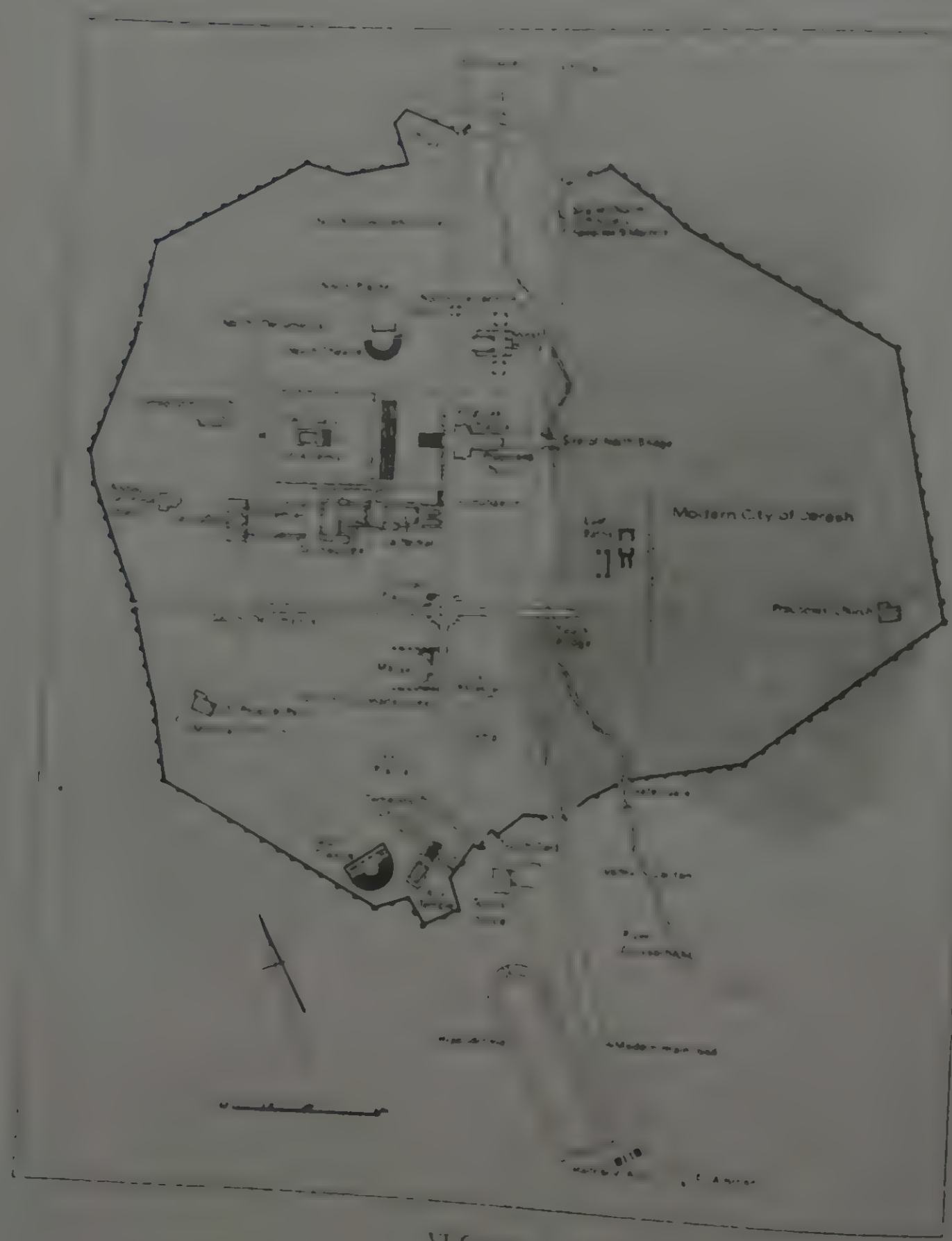


IV. The agoras of Hellenistic

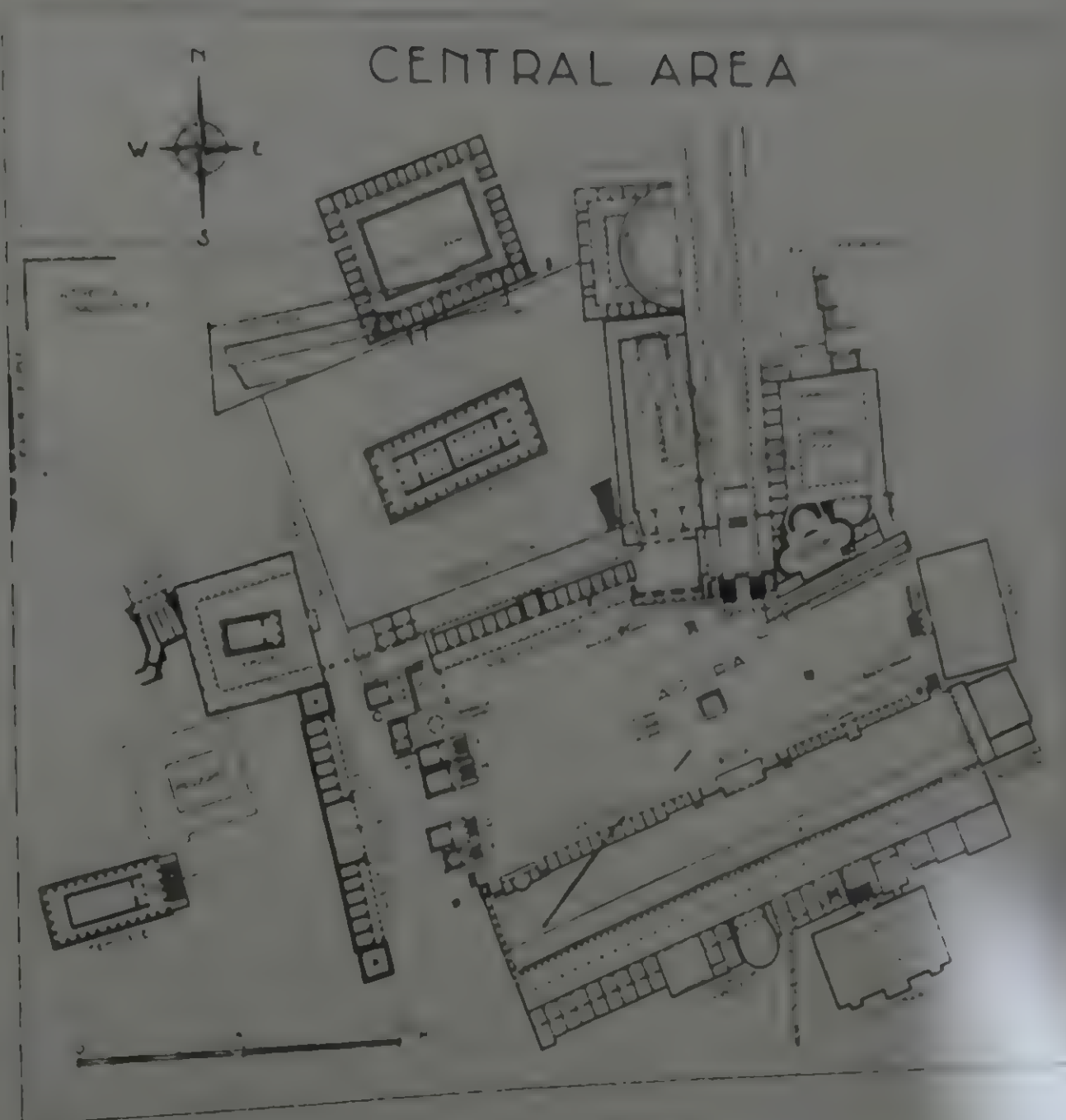


V. The centre of Seithopolis. 1. Theatre. 2. Baths. 3. Western Baths. 4. Propylaeum. 5. Propylaeum. 6. Shops of the Roman period. 7. Forum. 8. The eastern corner of the site. 9. The Roman forum. 10. Forum. 11. Forum. 12. Forum. 13. Forum. 14. Forum. 15. Forum. 16. Forum. 17. Forum. 18. Forum. 19. Forum. 20. Forum. 21. Forum. 22. Forum. 23. Forum. 24. Forum. 25. Forum. 26. Forum. 27. Forum. 28. Forum. 29. Forum.



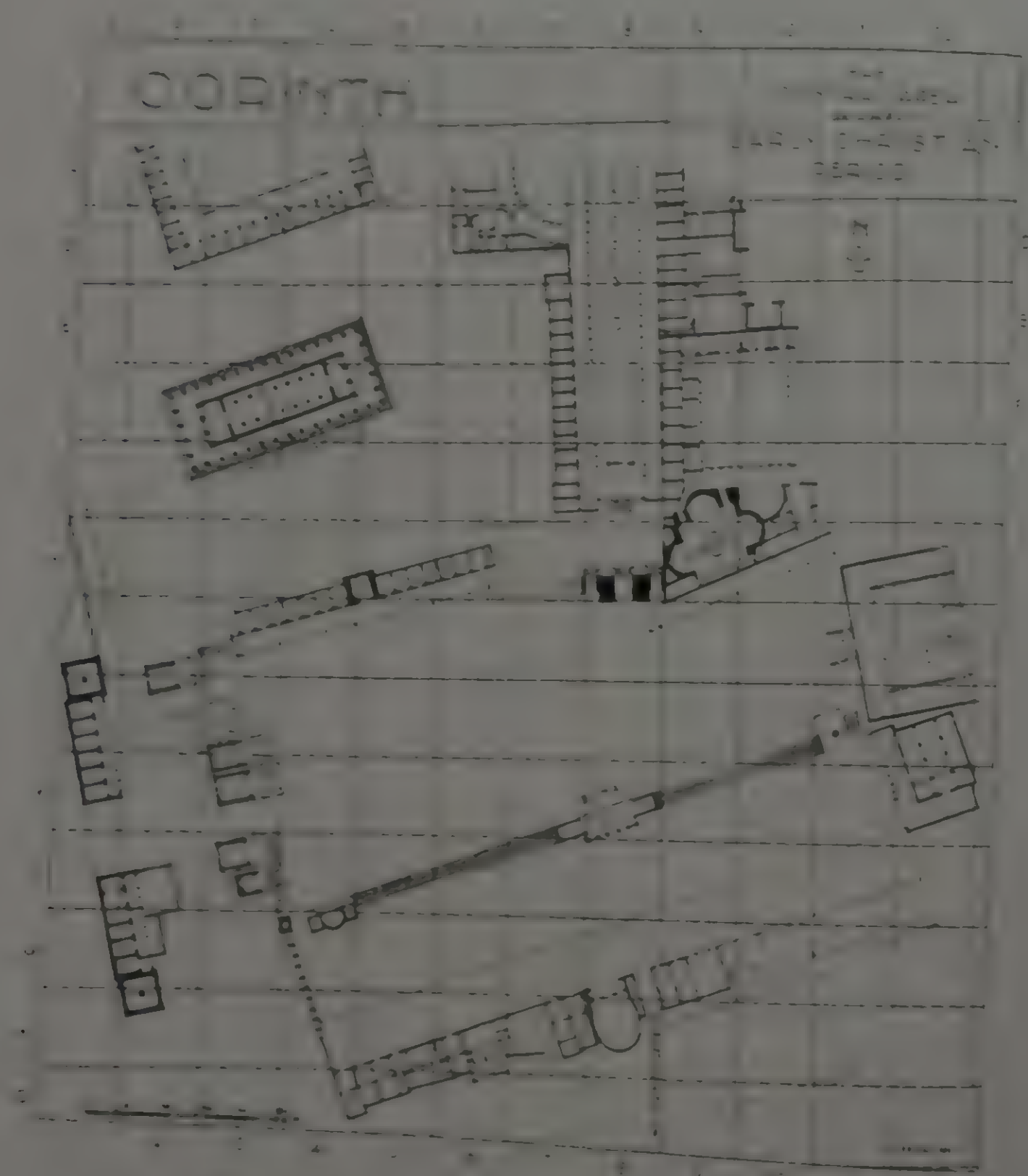


VI Gerasa

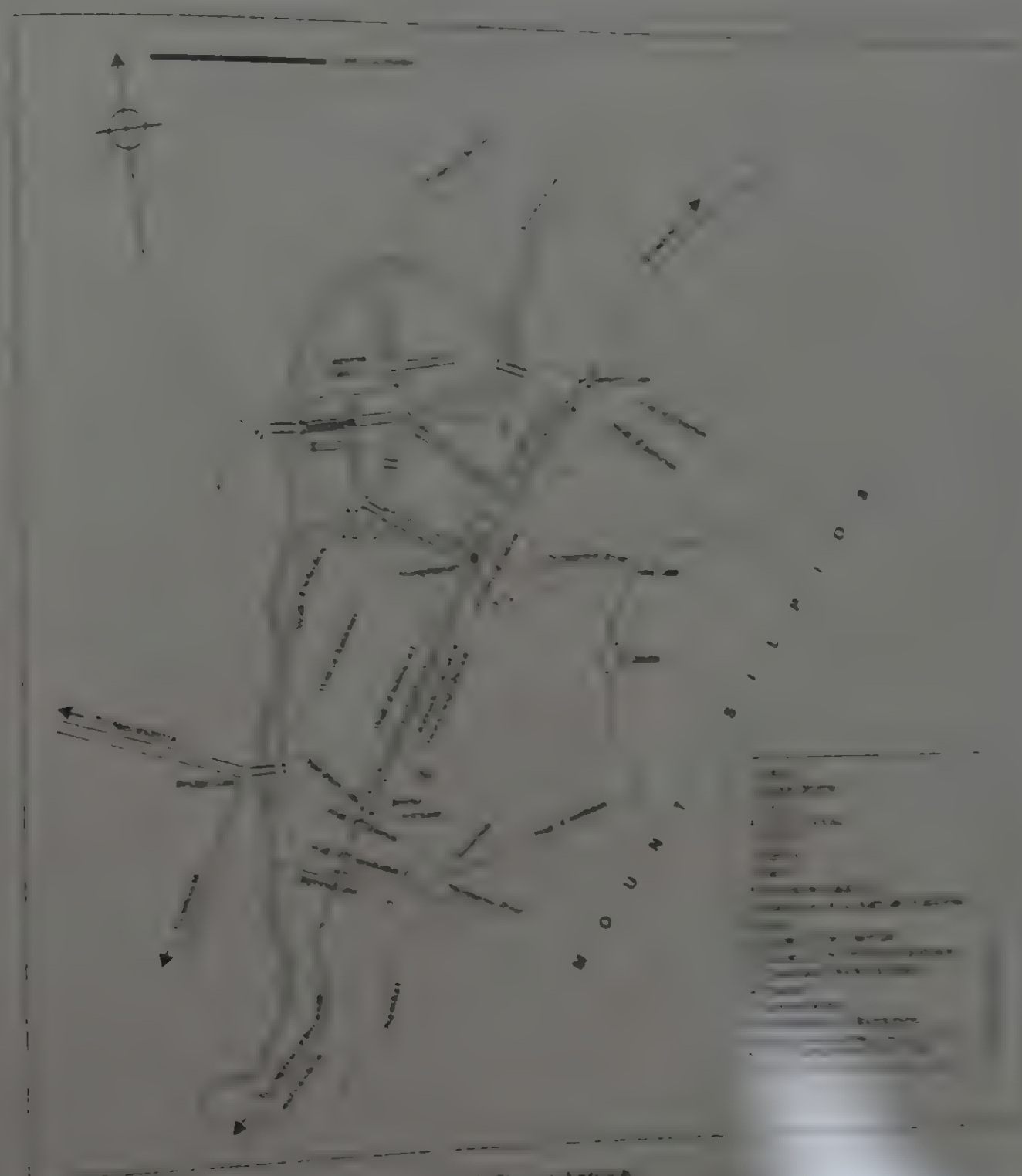


VIIa The forum of Corinth



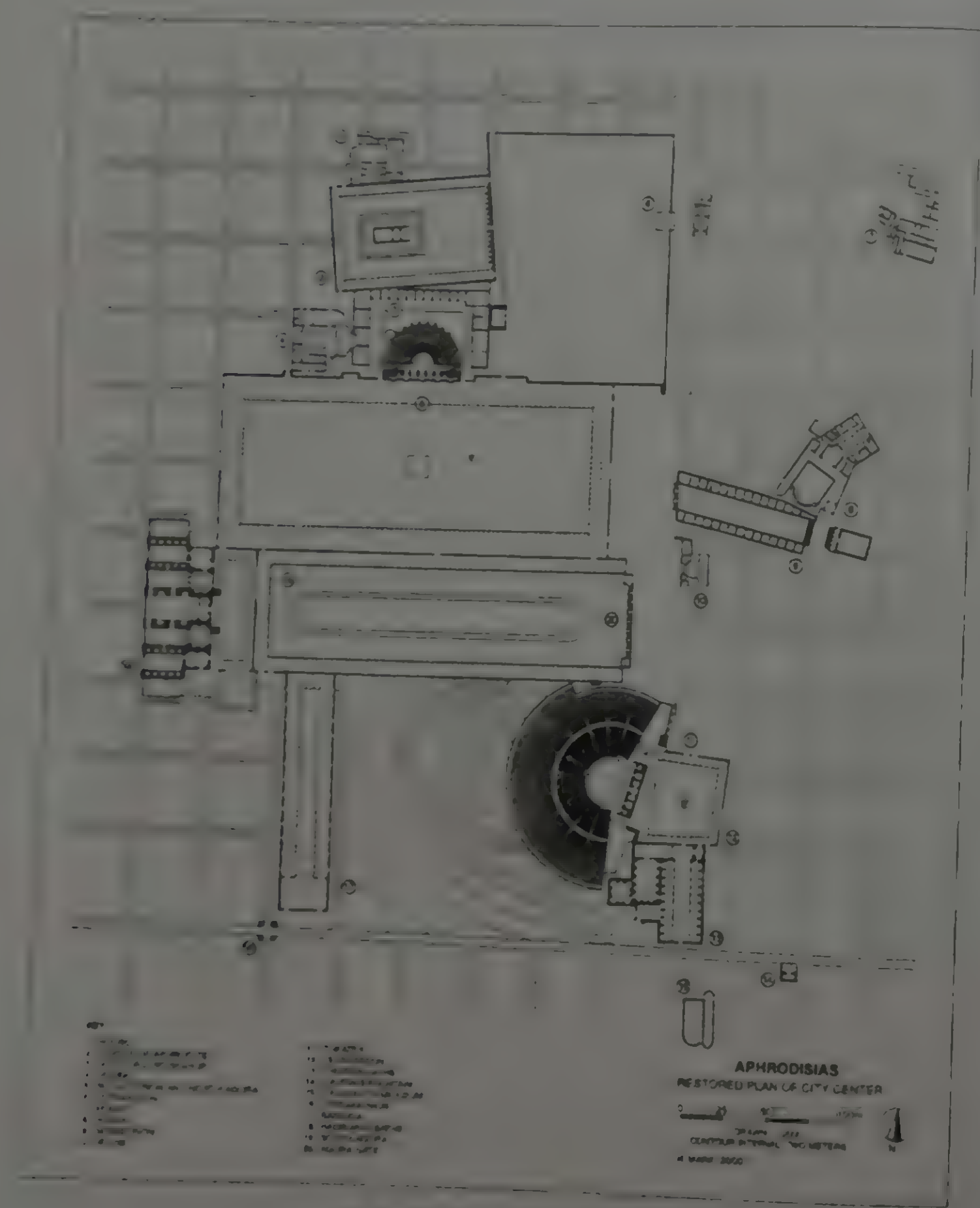


VIII. Plan of the forum of Corinth in the early Byzantine period.

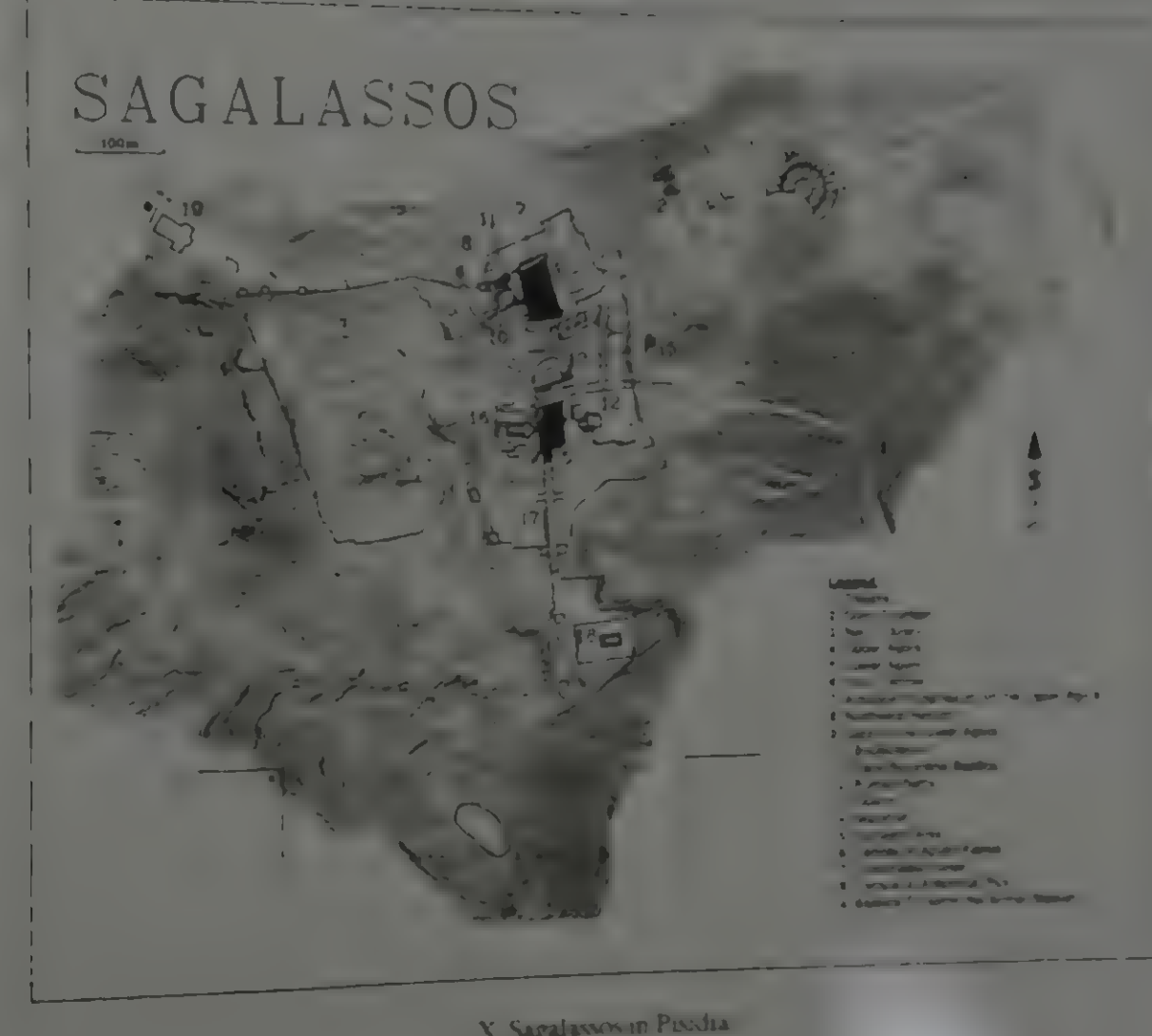


VIII. Plan of Antioch.



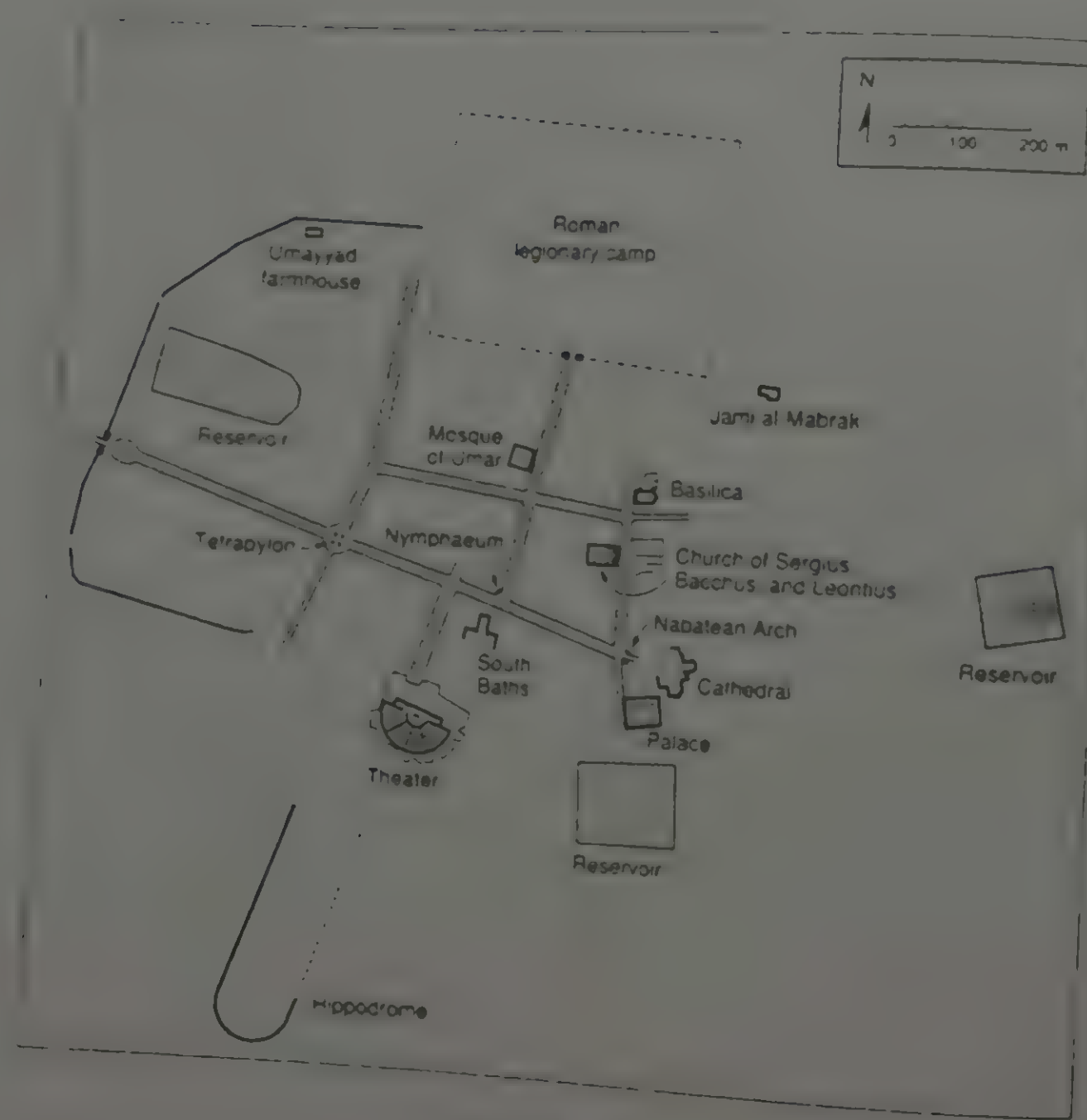


IX. The civic centre of Aphrodisias

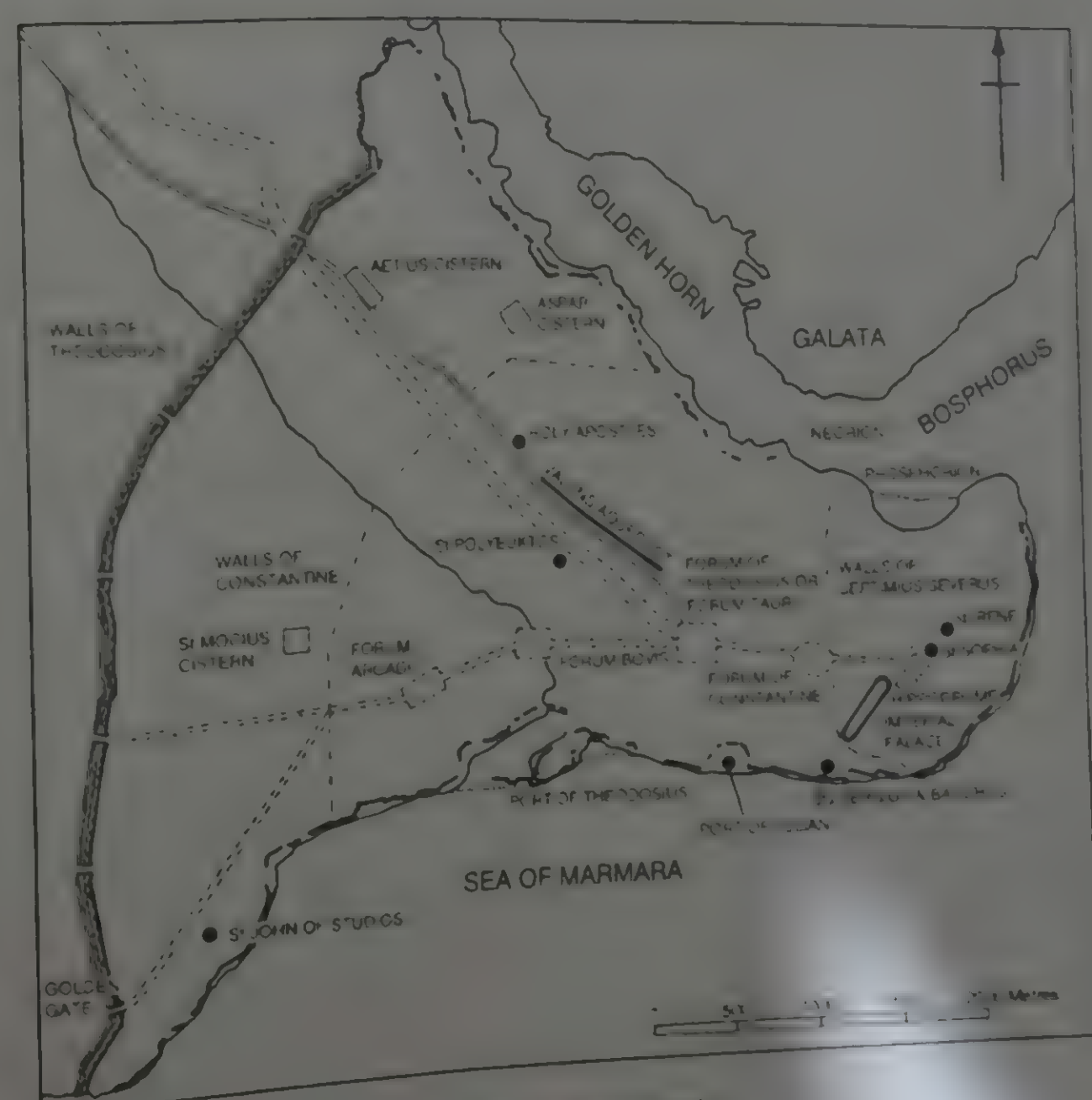


X. Sagalassos in Pisidia





XI Plan of Constantinople



XII Plan of Constantinople



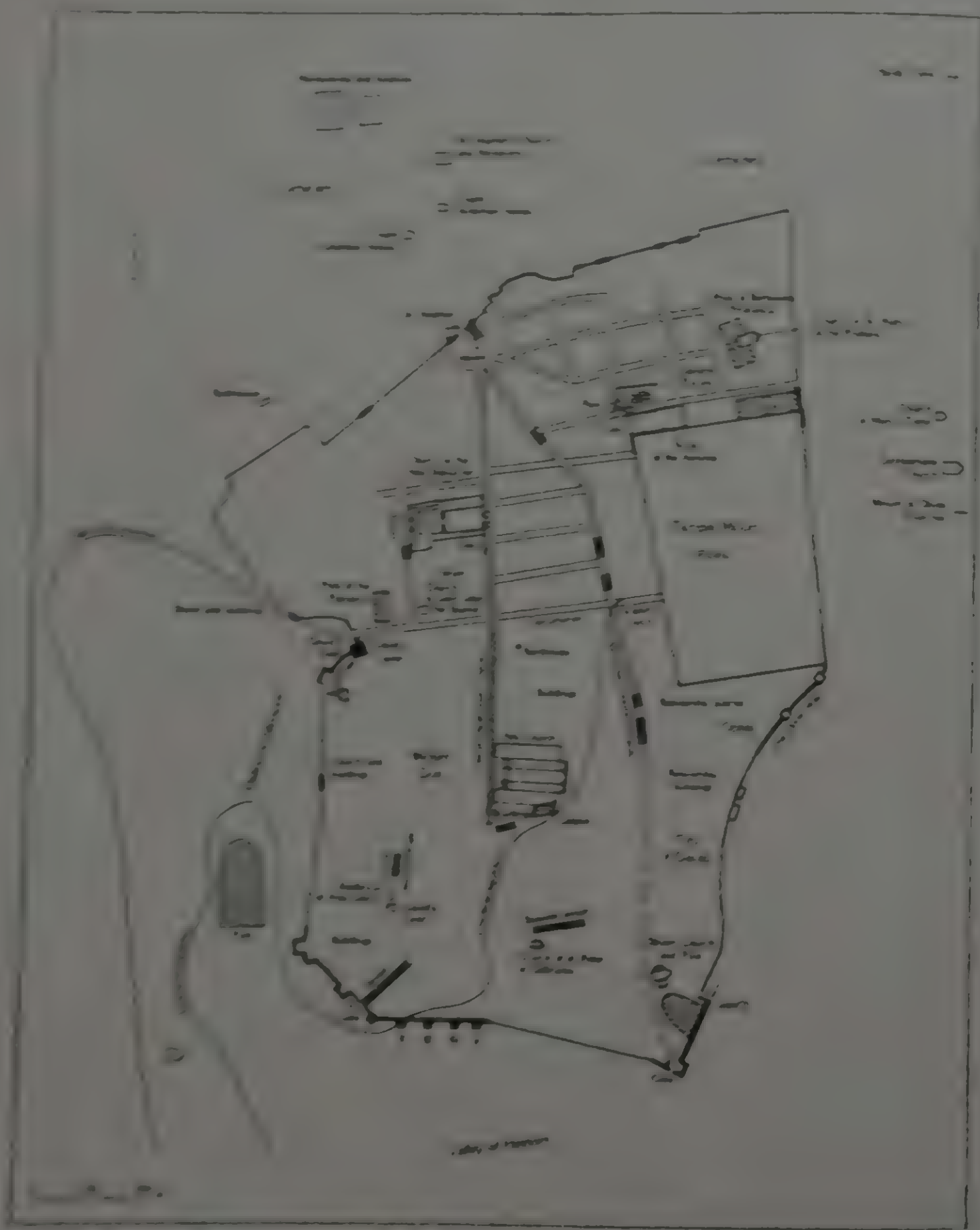
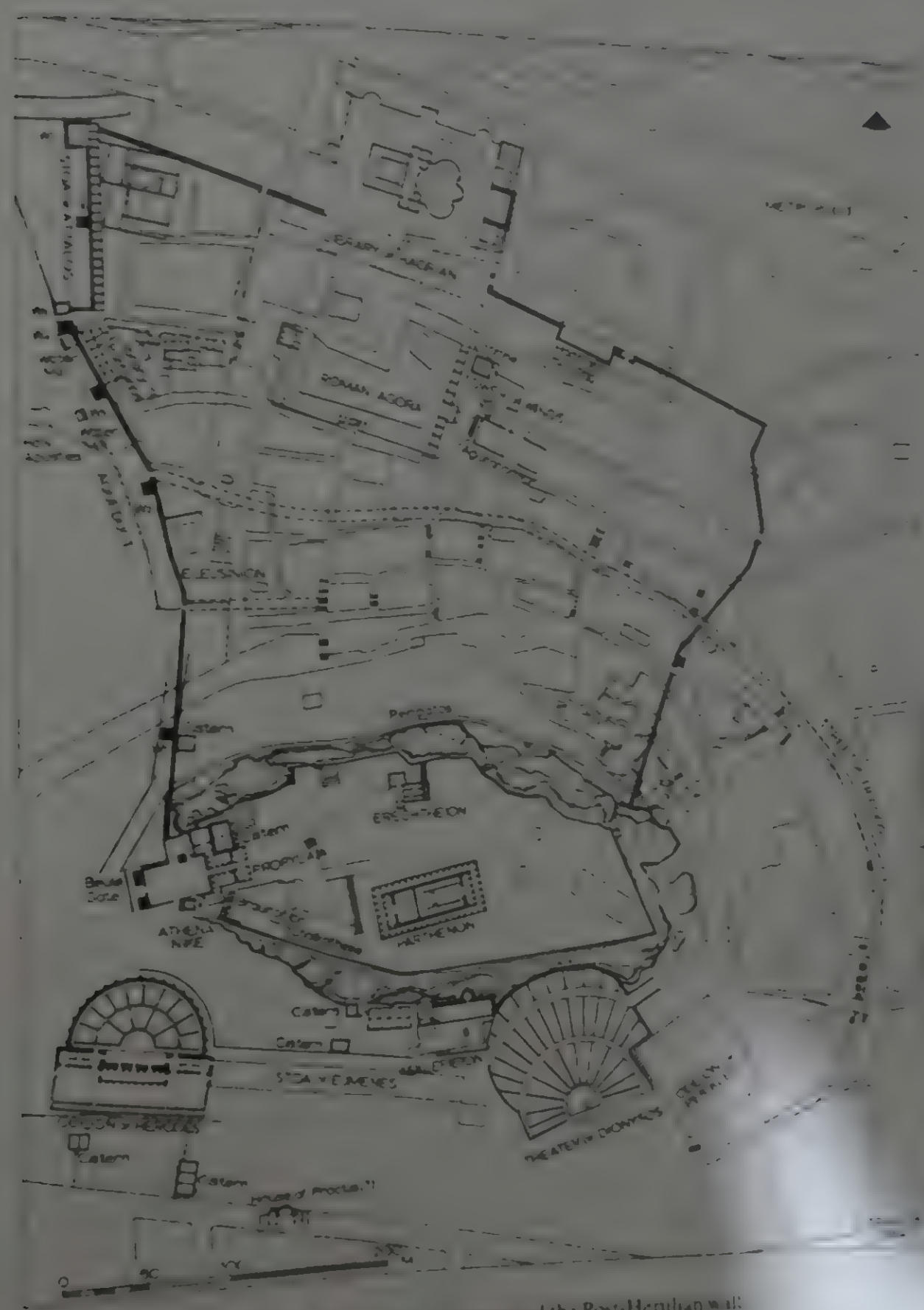


Fig. 1. Plan of Jerusalem in the early Byzantine period.



XIV. The Acropolis of Athens and the Post-Herulian wall.









XVII. Plan of Stobi in Macedonia Secunda. 1. North Basilica. 2. Civil Basilica. 3. Small Bath. 4. Central Basilica. 5. The House of Polycharmus. 6. Large Bath. 7. The House of Peristernia. 8, 9. The House of Peristernia. 10. Bath so-called Cerno (m.c.). 11. Bishop's palace. 12. Domus Fullonica. 13. Exedra and shops. 14. Via Principalis. 15. Episcopal Church. 16. Baptistry. 17. Theatre. 18. Southwestern Tower. 19. Roman walls. 20. Cemetery. 21-22. The West wall. 23-24. The inner early Byzantine wall. 25. Bath. 26. House (C. and Roman). 27. Early imperial east wall. 28. North Tower.

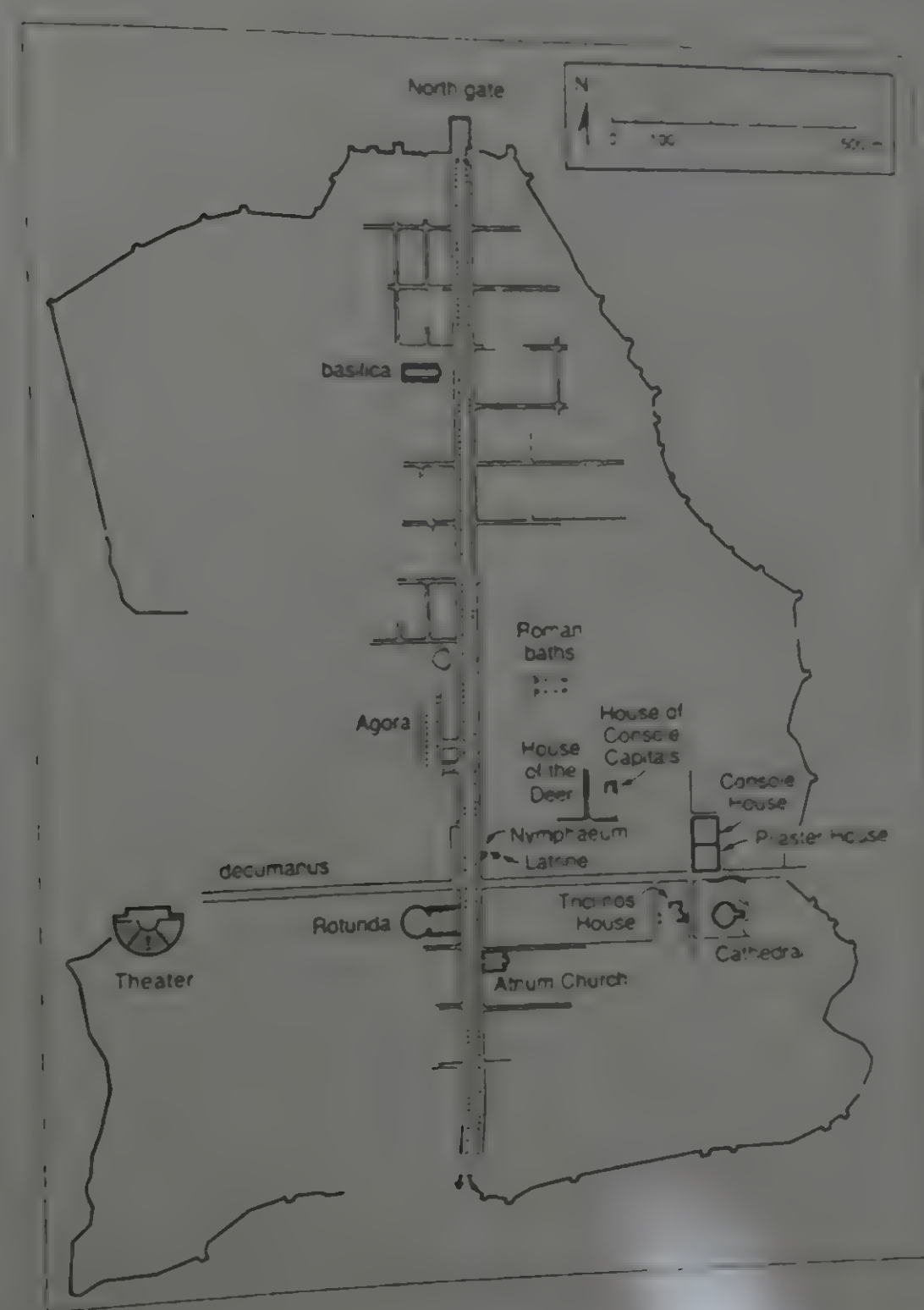


XVIII. Plan of Caesarea Maritima.



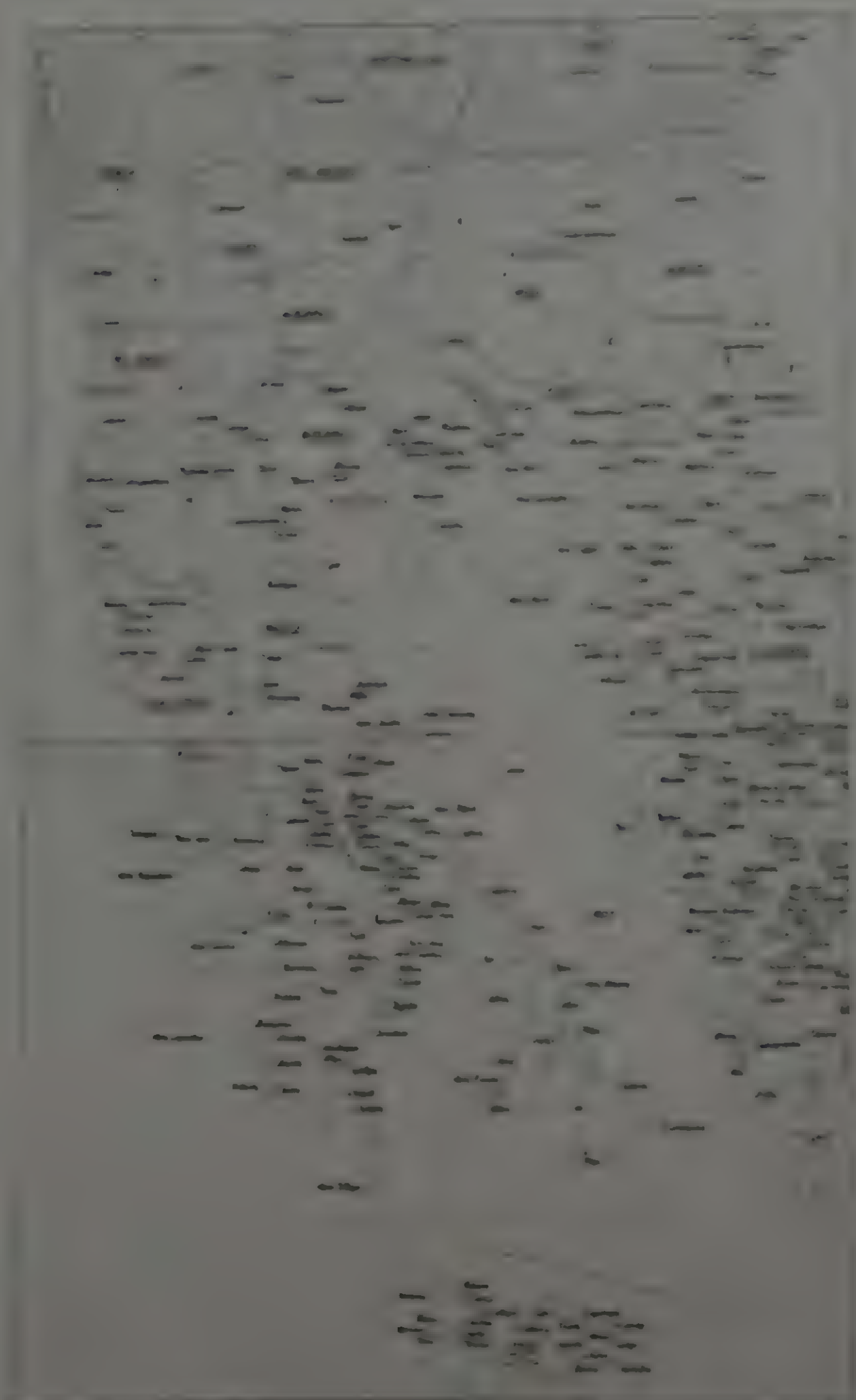


XIX. Philippa: 1. The line of Roman wall. 1a. The Seaport Gate. 1b. The acropolis. 2. The theatre. 3. Temple of Artemis. 4. Temple of Sivanus. 5. Temple of the Egyptian gods. 6. Basilica A. 7. Heron. 8. Prison of St. Paul. 9. Roman forum. 10. Roman macellum. 11. Basilica B. 12. The palaestra. 13. Roman baths. 14. The Octagon. 15. The Hellenistic heroon. 16. The bishop's palace. 17. Roman street. 18. Basilica E or Basilica of the Museum, now known as Basilica C.

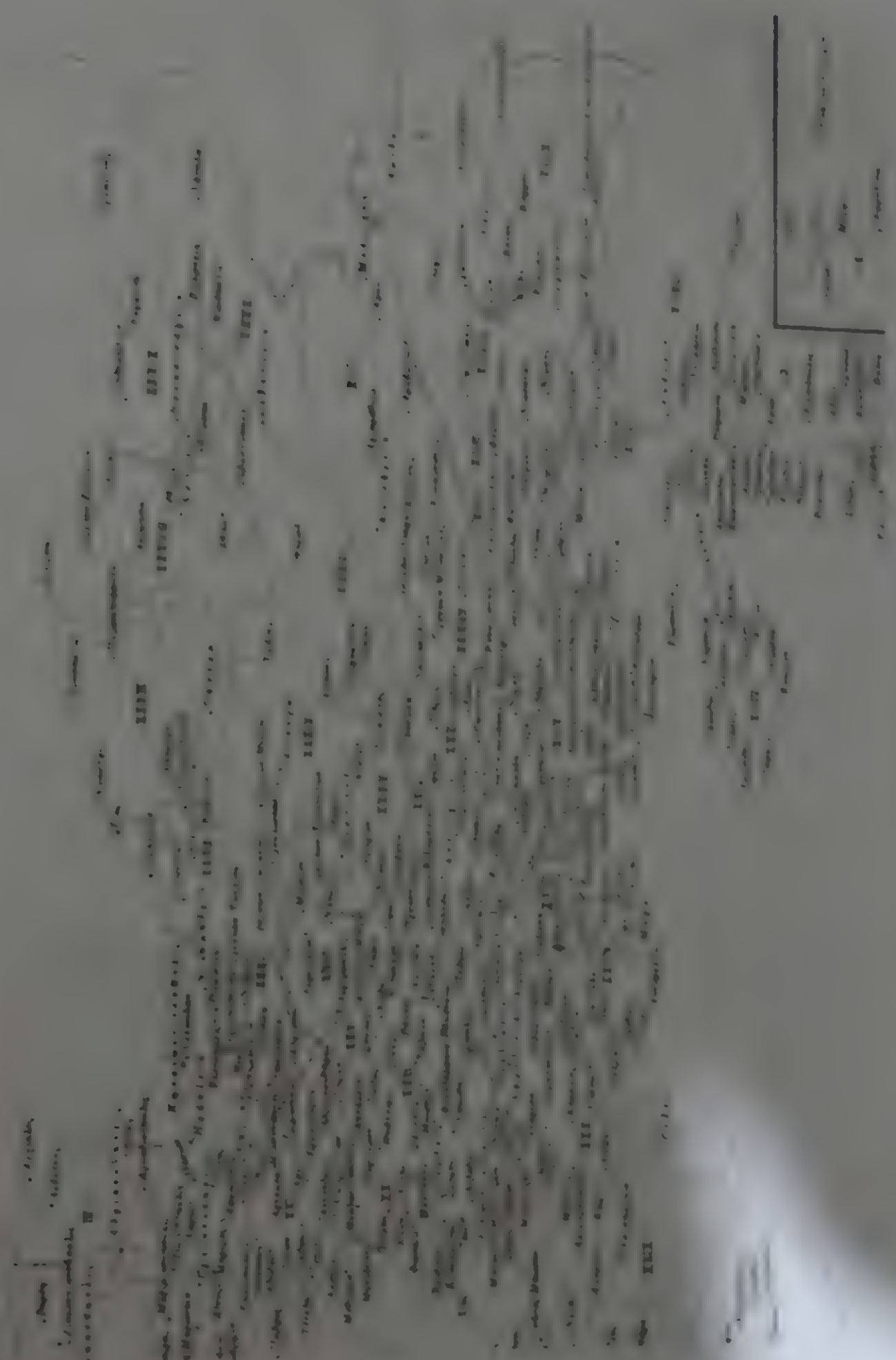


XX. Plan of Apamea





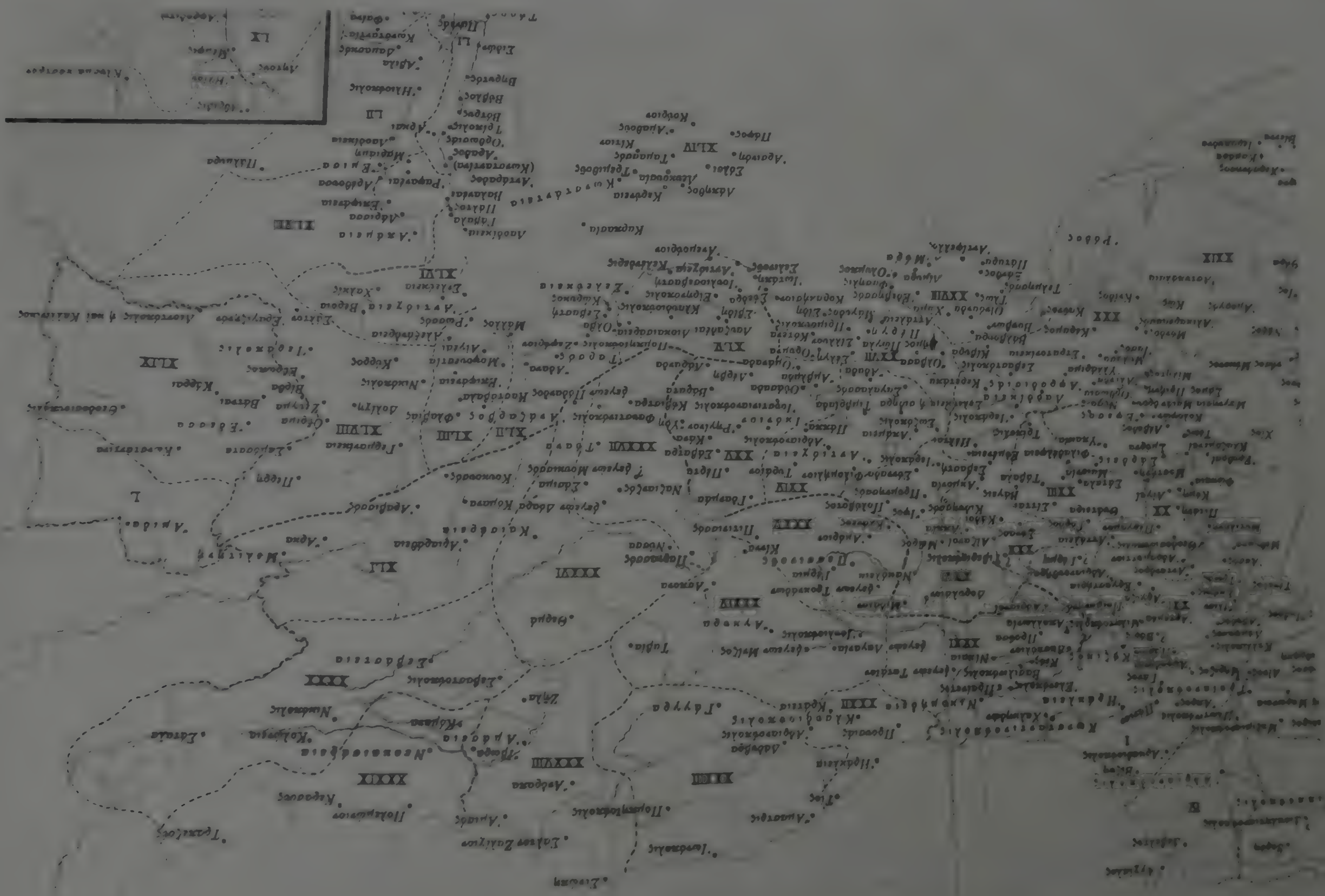
Map 1. Synthesis of Heron's Depositional Environment.



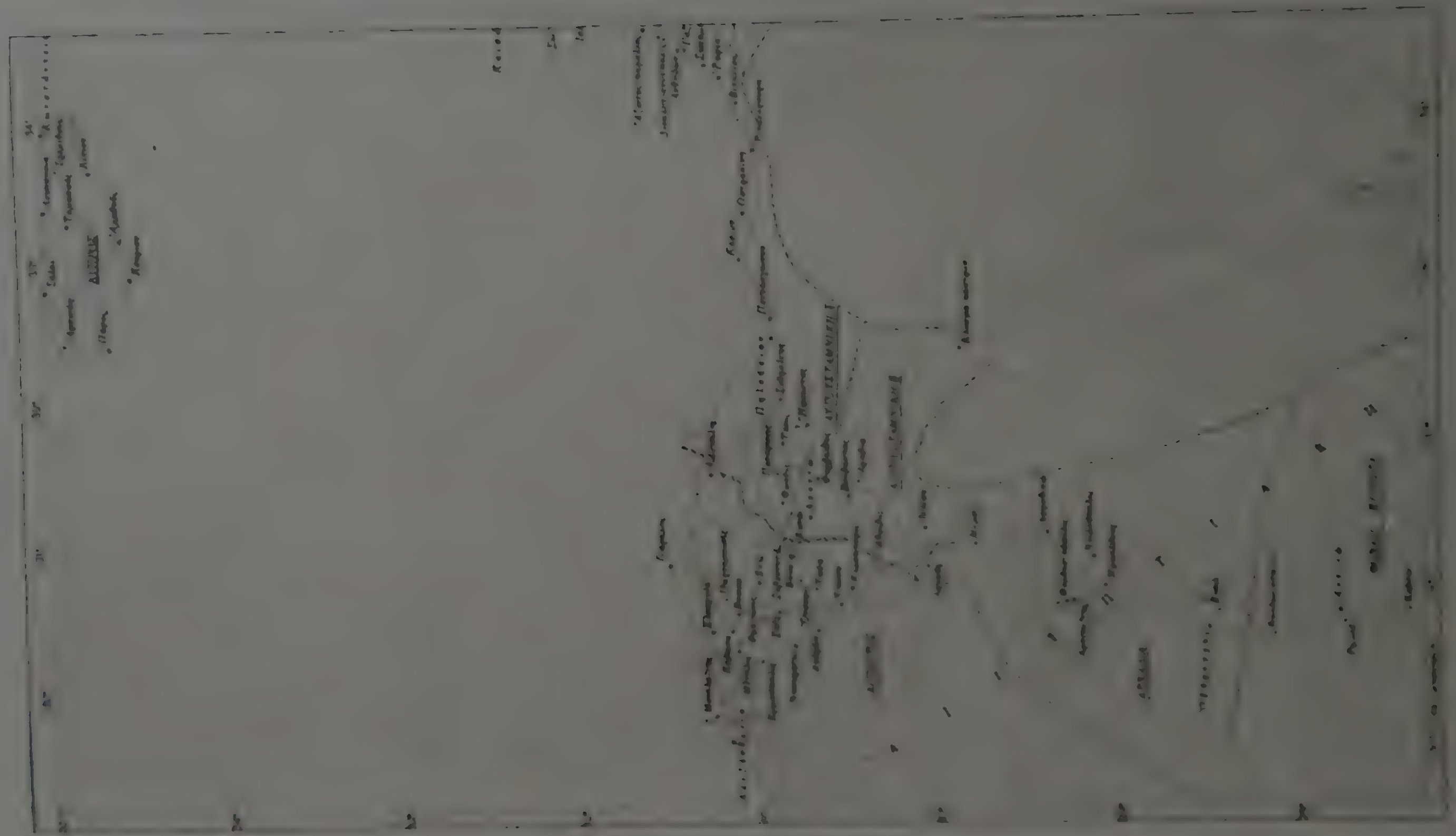
Map 2. Synthesis of Heron's Depositional Environment.



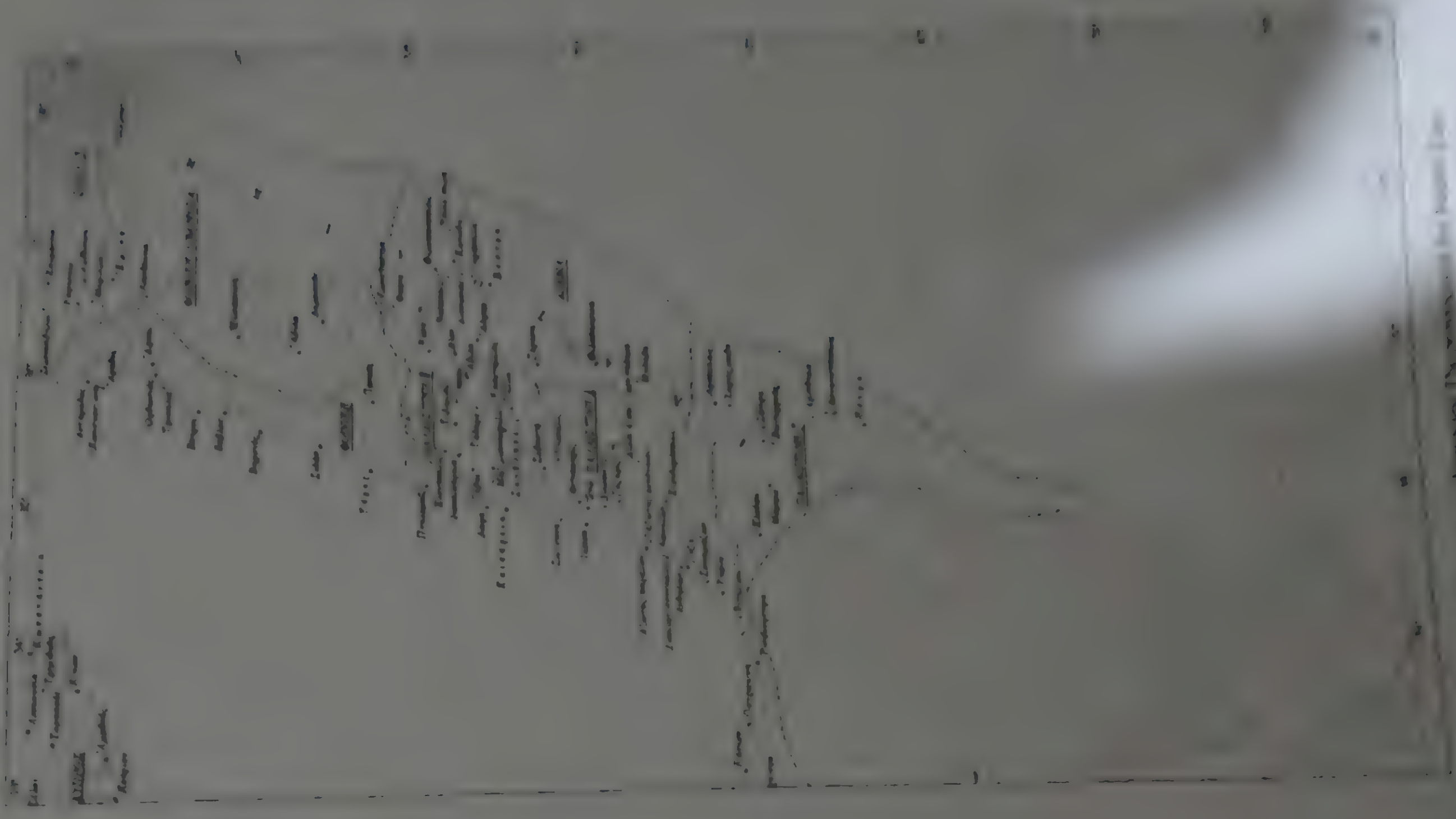
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Map 1. Sketch map of Hertfordshire. The proposed road layout.



Map 2. Sketch map of Hertfordshire. The proposed road layout.











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